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Vol. XVI

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Contents of previous issues of *CHURCH HISTORY* may be found by consulting the *International Index to Periodicals* in your library.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BERDYAEV AND ORIGEN: A COMPARISON <i>Matthew Spinka</i>	3
CONSERVATIVE VERSUS PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY IN LATTER 19TH CENTURY CONGREGATIONALISM <i>David Everett Swift</i>	22
THE RIDDLE OF THE 13TH CANON OF ANCYRA <i>Cyril C. Richardson</i>	32
MINUTES OF THE SIXTY-FIRST MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, DECEMBER 30, 1946	37
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 29, 1946	43
BOOK REVIEWS:	47
CASE, SHIRLEY JACKSON: <i>The Origins of Christian Supernaturalism</i>	Mervin M. Deems

CONTENTS

CARROLL, SISTER M. THOMAS AQUINAS: <i>The Venerable Bede: his Spiritual Writings</i>	E. R. Hardy, Jr.
MORAVCSIK, VON GYULA: <i>Die Byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker</i>	Glanville Downey
DIEHL, CHARLES: <i>Les Grands Problèmes de l'Histoire Byzantine</i>	Glanville Downey
SCHULTZ, SELINA GERHARD: <i>Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig</i>	Frederick W. Loetscher
SWEET, WILLIAM WARREN: <i>Religion on the American Frontier, 1789-1840: IV, The Methodists</i>	A. W. Nagler
NICHOLS, M. LEONA: <i>The Mantle of Elias</i>	Clifford M. Drury
BROWN, WILLIAM ADAMS: <i>Toward a United Church</i>	Charles S. Macfarland
HERMAN, STEWART W.: <i>The Rebirth of the German Church</i>	E. Theodore Bachmann
ARTICLES DEALING WITH CHURCH HISTORY FROM RECENT PERIODICALS	
<i>Compiled by M. M. Hutchinson and J. H. Nichols</i>	57
AMONG THE MEMBERS	
<i>Edited by Winthrop S. Hudson</i>	67
FRANK S. BREWER PRIZE ANNOUNCEMENT	70

BERDYAEV AND ORIGEN: A COMPARISON¹

MATTHEW SPINKA

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Canon Raven of the University of Cambridge, in his recently published book, expressed a significant, if somewhat startling, judgment regarding the historical trend of Western theology:

The first adequate theology, still perhaps the noblest ever formulated, [was] the Logos theology of the Greek Apologists, which had its fullest expression in the Christian Platonism of Clement of Alexandria and Origen. . . . It is one of the tragedies of history that the work of this brilliant succession of Christian thinkers was allowed not merely to come to an end, but to fall into neglect, oblivion and condemnation. If we are to handle effectively the task of elucidating a Christian theology for the twentieth century, we must, I think, ignore all the elaborate structures of later orthodoxy, Catholic and Protestant, which for today are literally irrelevant, and return to the point at which Origen was removed.²

Without necessarily sharing the sweeping generalization of the last sentence quoted—for I agree with Chesterton that all generalizations are wrong, including this one—I find myself in hearty accord with Canon Raven's opinion that Origen's system is one of the profoundest produced during the Christian centuries and deserves to find a worthy modern exponent. The latest writer on Origen, René Cadiou, likewise adjudges him a place among the greatest of Christian theologians.³

Fortunately, it is possible to recognize an exponent of much that is essential in Origenism in the modern Russian religious philosopher, Nicholas Alexandrovich Berdyaev. To be sure, as is the case with all real thinkers, Berdyaev's thought is in no sense a mere slavish restatement of any other man's views. Furthermore, this judgment is not invalidated, I think, even by the fact that Berdyaev does not too often refer to Origen in his writings, and when he does, not always favorably. The thesis propounded does not aim to prove that the Russian thinker is

1 The presidential address delivered at the meeting of the Society in New York on December 30, 1946.

2 Charles E. Raven, *Good News of God* (New York: Harper & Brothers, n.d.), 98-99. Used by permission.

3 René Cadiou, *Origen: his life at Alexandria* (St. Louis, Mo., 1944), v.

consciously dependent upon Origen for his views; it only intends to point out that no matter how independently the two thinkers have arrived at their conclusions, they share to a considerable degree many essential tenets. Or to put it in another way, Berdyaev stands much closer to Origen than most religious thinkers of the present time. For his thought, exceedingly wide ranging and truly ecumenical, is basically faithful to the Eastern Orthodox theological tradition, a representative of which was Origen. Many characteristic views and emphases in interpretation by which the great Alexandrian's system is distinguished, are to be found, in a modern mode of expression, and in a form appropriate to one who had made the riches of modern philosophy his own, in Berdyaev's thought.

Nevertheless, to avoid a misunderstanding of Canon Raven's suggestion, it must be borne in mind that what he chiefly stressed was the Alexandrian Platonists' teaching that the Logos—the divine Reason—permeates nature and human history. He bewails the trend of the Barthian school toward restricting the divine revelation to the Bible, and the divine activity to the work of Christ in a narrow, non-cosmic sense of the word. Berdyaev's philosophy, although it includes Canon Raven's theological *desiderata*, ranges far beyond them. One suspects that in many respects Canon Raven would find in Berdyaev far more Origenism than he had bargained for.

Although Origen regarded the *regula fidei* as the basic requirement which was to be accepted by faith on the part of all Christians,⁴ yet the task of the theologian was to prove these beliefs reasonable. He was free to speculate about the fundamental truths in order to apprehend them intellectually, and to make them understandable to educated Christians. As is well known, Origen evolved a system which in its majestic sweep is breathtaking—from the eternity in which God alone existed, to the creation of the spiritual realm, to be followed by that of the world of time and space, and after an unimaginably long span of time, to be terminated by the return of all spirits to Him who had created them, in "the restoration of all things in Christ." He made the Platonic system, particularly in the interpretation which Ammonius Saccas had imposed upon it, tributary to his interpretation of the Christian faith. His thought refused to be bound by Tertullian's fulmination, "What has Athens to do with Jerusa-

4 G. W. Butterworth, tr., *Origen on the First Principles* (London, 1936), 2-6.

lem?" Moreover, he freely went beyond the scriptural canon. And within the canon, his allegorical method of interpretation gave him full freedom, if not license, in the exposition of the sacred text. He was a Christian Gnostic—to him, as to Clement of Alexandria, *all truth*, whether found among the Jews, Greeks, or barbarians, was derived from divine Reason, the eternal Logos. But Origen may be called Gnostic only in the sense here indicated, without implying that he shared the views of the current Gnostic sects. These he vehemently repudiated.⁵

The same majestic sweep of imagination, the same unrestrained freedom of seeking truth wherever it may be found, is characteristic of the mind of Berdyaev. In his *Slavery and Freedom*, the most autobiographical of his works, he tells us of the great minds which most stimulated his own thinking. He read philosophy ever since he was a boy. His was always the "existential type." Among his chief mentors he gratefully acknowledges Plato, Plotinus, Boehme, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Marx, Leontiev, Dostoevsky, Ibsen, Tolstoy, and many others.⁶ Of Origen, whom he regarded as too rationalistic, he says: "Origen was the greatest genius among the teachers of the Church, and he is justly compared with the greatest philosophers."⁷ These great minds all counted at one time or another, but none too much. Kant and Schopenhauer were among the first to impress him. But he never accepted their philosophy wholly. Tolstoy also influenced him greatly; nevertheless, he later repudiated the great novelist's religious views almost totally.⁸ As a student at the University of Kiev he came under the sway of Marx. But as he affirms, he has never been an orthodox Marxist, nor a materialist. Even while under the Marxian influence, he professed idealism in philosophy, and maintained that truth and goodness are values independent of outward circumstances. He believed that truth and justice determined the revolutionary attitude, but were not determined by it.⁹ Under these conditions, and despite his aristocratic family and connections—Berdyaev's father was governor of the Kiev province and a general—young Nicolas Alexandrovich rebelled

5 *Ibid.*, 19, 60, 133.

6 Nicolas Berdyaev, *Slavery and Freedom* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 8-9. Used by permission.

7 N. Berdyaev, *Filosofiya svobody* (Moscow, 1911), 34.

8 N. Berdyaev, *O dostoinstve Khristianstva i nedostoinstve Khristian* (Warsaw, 1928), 21-23.

9 *Slavery and Freedom*, 13.

against his own social class and went over to the revolutionaries.¹⁰ Consequently, in 1898, he was arrested for subversive activities and exiled.

But the deterministic character of the thought of his more Marxian fellow-revolutionists soon compelled him to part company with them. He saw with grief that there was no more reverence for the dignity of personality among the Marxians than among the bourgeoisie. Nor did his fellow-Marxians have any more love for the freedom of the spirit than the other camp. This led to Berdyaev's conversion to the religious world view as alone consonant with true personalism. For one who had loved Dostoevsky ever since childhood, such a course was only to be expected. Ibsen taught him the significance of personality.¹¹ The earliest literary formulation of his views after the break with the Marxists, published in various journals and collected in 1907 in two volumes,¹² reveals him in his liberal phase of development. But even then the dominant characteristics of his mature world view—stressing spiritual freedom and the supreme value of personality—are already clearly discernible. In the *Sub specie aeternitatis*, which comprises articles published between 1900 and 1906, he declares that he passed from idealism to "mystical realism." He combats positivism, naturalism, hedonism, and utilitarianism and opposes Marxian historical materialism. As a former Marxist he was attacked by the orthodox defenders of that school. He replied to them in an article, "Critique of Historical Materialism," in which he concludes that "Only idealistic apprehension of history is possible. . . ."¹³ "Above all, we profess the absolute worth of man as an end in itself; it is not possible to reach that goal by the path of empiricism."¹⁴ That may be reached only by way of theanthropy. "I aim in my articles at theanthropy, the incarnation of the Spirit in society, at the mystical union of love and freedom. I proceed from the Marxist lie of universality, from the decadent-liberal individualism, to the universality of mystical neo-Christianity."¹⁵ Accordingly, Berdyaev opposed "the old, moribund church of the old reactionary religious orientation, and the government sanctioned by it; positivism and atheism of the old rationalistic orientation and the

10 *Ibid.*, 15.

11 N. Berdyaev, "Tri yubileya," in *Put'*, No. 11 (June, 1928), 82.

12 Nicolas Berdyaev, *Sub specie aeternitatis* (St. Petersburg, 1907).

13 *Ibid.*, 116.

14 *Ibid.*, 17.

15 *Ibid.*, 4.

false religion of social democracy sanctioned by it; and the anarchical irrationalism, chaotic mysticism, and the nihilism which is based on them. The new religious orientation, conventionally named neo-Christianity, lies at the basis of that which I place in opposition to the false tendencies."¹⁶ Berdyaev still regards himself a socialist, but would like to qualify the term by the adjective "Christian," were it not for the circumstance that Christian socialism is not recognized as true socialism by real socialists and is repudiated by them.¹⁷

It is clear from these early writings of Berdyaev that he ranged himself not only against the dominant naturalistic-rationalistic philosophical tendencies of the period, but also against the official Russian church. His "neo-Christianity" was derived from sources much wider than those recognized by the official church—the Scriptures and tradition. Like Origen, he referred to himself as a "Gnostic," or "Christian theosophist." He regarded himself as a Christian theosophist in the ancient sense of that term in which Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Jacob Boehme, Franz Baader, and Vladimir Solovev claimed that designation. His Origenism is expressly acknowledged in his statement: "I am infinitely close to Origen's gnosticism; I feel akin to such Eastern theologians-philosophers as St. Dionysius the Areopagite and St. Maximus the Confessor."¹⁸ Berdyaev deliberately transcended the limits of Western academic philosophical and theological sources of authority, both in Catholicism and Protestantism.¹⁹

Just as Origen's conception of the pre-existent spiritual world was among the chief stumbling blocks to later orthodox Christianity,²⁰ so are Berdyaev's views of the origin of freedom, and with it the origin of evil, the targets of criticism. Origen postulated two "creations," one of the spiritual world, the other of the space-time world. Berdyaev's view is similar. In his earlier phase of development, when he published his *Philosophy of Freedom* (1911), he affirms that the Creator endowed the crea-

16 *Novoe religioznoe soznanie*, vii.

17 N. Berdyaev, *The End of Our Time* (New York, 1935), 204.

18 Berdyaev, *Sub specie aeternitatis*, 436, footnote 1.

19 N. Berdyaev, *Freedom and the Spirit* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), xix. Used by permission.

20 At the Second Council of Constantinople held by Emperor Justinian in 553, Origen was condemned for holding, among other opinions, that prior to the creation of the space-time world, "all rational creatures consisted of minds, bodiless and immaterial . . ." Butterworth, *Origen on First Principles*, 125.

ture with freedom.²¹ This view does not differ from that of Origen, or from the currently accepted view. He furthermore denies God's responsibility for evil consequent upon freedom. Nevertheless, even at this time he thought of the origin of evil as being a preexistent act of self-assertion on the part of human spirit, and not an act taking place in the temporal world—let us say in the traditional Garden of Eden. Evil is "falling away from the absolute being which is accomplished by an act of freedom, and is a passage into the sphere of non-being. . . ."²² This is Berdyaev's early theory of the preexistent Fall.

Later, he accepted and made his own Jacob Boehme's concept of the *Ungrund*. He defines Boehme's *Ungrund* as "the primal, irrational, as yet dark and undetermined freedom. It is not evil, but makes evil possible; it contains potentiality of evil as well as of good. . . . It lies outside of God, outside of being, existing before all being which is already determined."²³ Accordingly, freedom is uncreated. In fact, Boehme taught that God's freedom is as much derived from the *Ungrund* as man's. Berdyaev follows him even in this daring assertion. Thus his is a radical dualism, pushed back to ultimate beginnings. God created the world out of "meonic" stuff (Berdyaev distinguishes between the Greek terms *me on* and *ouk on*; the former possesses a potentiality of being, while the latter does not) which already comprised primal undifferentiated freedom prior to the distinction between good and evil.²⁴ It is the *Ungrund* which is the initial source of freedom. God, therefore, is not responsible for evil consequent upon, and inseparable from, freedom. God is supreme over being, but has no control over non-being, over the uncreated freedom. "Evil is non-being and has its roots in non-existence. But non-being can have no meaning, for meaning is always ontological."²⁵

There are, therefore, similarities and dissimilarities between the views of Berdyaev and Origen. The basic similarity appears in the assertion of both thinkers that there exists a spiritual world which is prior to the temporal, and to which the origin of freedom, and therefore evil consequent upon it, must be referred. Both strenuously deny that God is responsible for evil,

21 *Filosofiya svobody*, 148.

22 *Ibid.*, 144-48.

23 *Put'*, No. 18 (September, 1929), 120.

24 N. Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man* (New York, 1937), 47.

25 *Freedom and the Spirit*, 163; also *Filosofiya svobody*, 142, 145.

and ascribe evil to the wrong exercise of freedom on the part of human spirits. In fact, in an effort to guard against the charge that God is responsible for evil, Berdyaev proposes a remedy which is worse than the disease. It is at this point that he and Origen part company. Berdyaev, following Boehme, holds a doctrine of uncreated freedom comprised in the original "meonic" matter. There existed, therefore, prior to creation, a potentiality which God did not control. He is not Creator in the absolute sense of the word. The temporal world and human freedom have a double origin: God's creative activity *and* the *Ungrund*. Origen, on the other hand, holds that God is the Creator of the world in an absolute sense. He specifically denies, apparently against the upholders of the Aristotelian notion (also held by Marcion), that the world is eternal, and that matter is uncreated.²⁶ Even qualities of matter were created by God.²⁷

The notion of freedom of human spirits, which is fundamental to both thinkers whose systems are under consideration, must be further elaborated. Origen stressed the tenet that rational spirits, existing in the preexistent, spiritual world, were free and equal so that they could not be forced to any action except such as they freely chose.²⁸ The Scriptures, according to him, contain "ten thousand passages which with utmost clearness prove the existence of free will."²⁹ Similarly Berdyaev. Man's freedom is likewise fundamental to his world view, and he also traces its origin to the preexistent world. In fact, he may be regarded as the philosopher of freedom *par excellence*, as Count Keyserling, in the preface to the German translation of Berdyaev's *Meaning of History*, called him. A free man is necessary to God. Since God is love, and love cannot exist in a vacuum but must go out to an object and must be reciprocated, He desired a being capable of such a free response. Therefore, man must be a free agent. But because man is a free spirit, he is not only capable of responding to God's love, but also of rejecting God and of affirming himself instead. This self-affirmation is the "Fall," as has already been shown. Origen, following Plato, held that rational spirits had sinned in the preexistent world, "and on that account fell from the state in which they were, [and] in proportion to their particular sins were envelop-

26 Butterworth, *Origen on First Principles*, 321, 30.

27 *Ibid.*, 322, 323.

28 *Ibid.*, 77.

29 *Ibid.*, 166.

ed in bodies as a punishment."³⁰ Berdyaev likewise places this fateful event in the preexistent, spiritual world, for it took place before time began and produced time.³¹ In fact, he even agrees with Origen in affirming that in the spiritual world all rational beings are equal,³² i.e., there was originally no distinction between men and angels, as Thomas Aquinas later taught.

Thus for him as for Origen the world, the place created purposely as the abode of fallen human spirits, is a place of discipline, redemptive opportunity. Accordingly, terrestrial history is preceded by a prologue in the spiritual, preexistent world—as it is in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. But for Berdyaev this was at first true in a more radical—or more orthodox—sense than it had been for the Alexandrian philosopher: the latter, holding to the notion of plurality of worlds, which existed before the present one as others shall exist after this one passes away,³³ could afford to grant each fallen spirit almost endlessly repeated chances to find his way back to God. Not so Berdyaev. Since he limited the redemptive chance to this terrestrial life alone, he of necessity held that "the life of each man on earth is a moment of absolute being and another such moment for the work of salvation shall not be given."³⁴ But later he changed his mind, and adopted a position closer to Origen's. By 1927, when he published the Russian original of his *Freedom and the Spirit*, he already felt it difficult to hold a metaphysical system "which makes the eternal destiny of the soul dependent on this temporal life, which exists merely from the cradle to the grave."³⁵ Moreover, he likewise rejects Origen's theory of transmigration of unredeemed souls. Reincarnation on the earth appears to him incompatible with Christianity.³⁶

Berdyaev's belief in the preexistence of souls exhibits some really astonishing features, for although he is perhaps alone among the religious thinkers of our day to hold the tenet, he makes no particular effort to establish it. He merely assumes it. I have found only one reference in his very extensive writings

30 *Ibid.*, 67, 126. Plato taught the doctrine of soul's descent in *Phaedrus* (B. Jowett, tr., *The Dialogues of Plato* [New York, 1907], I, 553.) Origen alludes to it in *Contra Celsum*, IV, 40, where he says that the Christian doctrine far exceeds that of Plato.

31 *Freedom and the Spirit*, 22.

32 *Ibid.*, 344.

33 Butterworth, *Origen on First Principles*, 83, 239.

34 *Filosofiya svobody*, 151.

35 *Freedom and the Spirit*, 323.

36 *Ibid.*, 326.

(although a few are not accessible to me) where he blandly remarks that the commonly held view of the creation of each human soul at the time of physical conception is untenable.³⁷ To be sure, the belief in the preexistence of souls is perhaps as logical as any other theory which attempts to account for the origin of human personality. It is remarkable that if modern theologians ignore it, modern biological physiologists, with their theory of genes as the physical bases of personality, come closest to giving it aid and comfort. Moreover, the doctrine of the survival of human personality confronts the same objections as that of the preexistence of the spiritual world. But could not Berdyaev have made an effort to deal with the existing theories and grapple with the obvious objections to his view? Where has he himself found it? It is found neither in the Eastern nor the Western traditions, with the sole exception of Origenism. And if that be his source, one wonders why he did not say so.

But equally decisive is the role of human freedom in history. In fact, the tortuous, tragic development of mankind from the animal to the sage and saint is fundamentally the story of human freedom, of human self-affirmation. For the world of space and time is the training ground of human beings. Berdyaev, unlike Origen, for whom the present life was but one phase of the redemptive process, is greatly occupied with the problem of the meaning of history. As early as 1911 he presented his views on this subject in his *Philosophy of Freedom*.³⁸ He reworked the same theme in an expanded form eleven years later and delivered it during the winter 1919-1920 as a series of lectures in the Great Academy of Spiritual Culture in Moscow. Soon after, in 1922, he was expelled from the Soviet Union, partly on account of the views expounded in the lectures. They were published under the title *The Meaning of History*.³⁹ In the book Berdyaev ascribes the terrible tragedy of human history to the exercise of free will, or rather to the habitual choice of evil in the exercise of freedom on the part of "fallen" man. "The world process . . . implies a terrible tragedy, and history is a succession of calamitous events in the center of which stands the Crucifixion, the Cross on which the Son of God Himself was crucified, because God had desired freedom and because the primal drama and mystery of the world are those relations be-

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Filosofiya svobody* (Moscow, 1911).

39 *Smysl istorii* (Berlin, 1923).

tween God and His other self which He loves and by which He desires to be loved. And only freedom endows this love with any significance."⁴⁰

But many of Berdyaev's critics object: if all evil is derived from man's will, and God cannot change it because of His self-limiting restraint in regard to human freedom, is not God really powerless to work out His purposes in the world? Is there nothing God can change? And if that be true, is not human freedom defeating God's purpose?

Berdyaev answers this challenge in a way in which he allies himself most closely with the "existential" philosophy. The following quotations are taken from his latest book, and presumably represent the latest phase of his thinking. But I believe it would not be correct to hold that his eclectic use of some premises of existential philosophy necessarily contradicts or invalidates his consistent adherence to an ontological type of world view. To return, then, to Berdyaev's defense against his critics, he counters by a radical denial that God is the Creator of the world order, which is but a product of objectivization on the part of "fallen" man. "God is not world providence, that is to say not a ruler and sovereign in the universe, not *pantokrator*. God is freedom and meaning, love and sacrifice; He is struggle against the objectivized word order." The problem of theodicy "is solved only on the existential plane where God reveals Himself as freedom, love and sacrifice, where He suffers for man and strives together with man against the falsity and wrong of the world, against the intolerable suffering of the world. There is no need to justify, we have no right to justify, all the unhappiness, all the suffering and evil in the world with the help of the idea of God as Providence and Sovereign of the Universe. This is a hard saying. One must turn to God for the struggle on behalf of freedom, on behalf of righteousness, on behalf of the enlightening and betterment of existence."⁴¹

Berdyaev summarizes the meaning of history as a process of redemption from sin and a return of the creature to the Creator, a free union of man with God, and the final relegation of evil to the sphere of non-being.⁴² By their fall away from the pre-existent state, all beings endowed with freedom have themselves

40 Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Meaning of History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 58. Used by permission.

41 *Slavery and Freedom* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 89. Used by permission.

42 *Filosofiya svobody*, 150.

determined their place in the world of time and space. "The task of history is not a victory over suffering and unhappiness (result), but a creative victory over evil and sin (cause)."⁴³ Accordingly, history is "a progressive return of humankind to God in a direct line which is to be terminated by the end of this world."⁴⁴ This essentially agrees with Origenism.

Berdyaev then proceeds to discuss the course of Western European history from this philosophical point of view. The religious development of the pre-Christian period he characterizes as a preparation for the coming of Christ. The incarnation of the Logos is the focal point of world history—the revelation of God to mankind. But as for historic Christianity, that is but a compromise with paganism. Of such nature are "Christian government" and "Christian society."

The Middle Ages is a period of great cultural and religious creativity.

It is an epoch not only the most ascetic, but also the most sensuous . . . giving birth equally to the ideal of the monk and the knight, of the feudal anarchy and of the Holy Roman Empire; to the world denial on the part of the Church and the world domination by that same Church; to the ascetic exploits of monasticism and the knightly cult of the beautiful woman. This epoch emphasized dualism in all spheres of being and placed before future mankind unresolved problems: above all, the problem of comprising within the confines of the Church all activity, and the subjection of all human life to theocracy. . . . We know very well that medieval men not seldom were coarse and cruel, that medieval theocracy supplanted the rule of God by the rule of man; that with the age are bound the Inquisition and superstition; but all that only emphasizes the dual and complex character of the epoch.⁴⁵

As for medieval Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, Berdyaev condemns the former as papal caesarism

in which the divine rule was supplanted by human rule, the pope was acknowledged the vicar of Christ and was almost deified. The Catholic teaching regarding the ecclesiastical hierarchy with the pope at the head was a false religious anthropology and revealed the absence of true religious anthropology—the revelation of the Godmanhood, in which Christ Himself is emperor and high priest and has no vicar. . . . The Western papalism was a patent seduction of the ruler of this world, a continuation of the pagan empire—the *imperium romanum*—with which the Catholic Church has much in common.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁴⁵ *Filosofiya svobody*, 176-77.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 179; cf. *Freedom and the Spirit*, 344 ff.; also *O dostoinstve Khristianstva i nedostoinstve Khristian*, 16-17.

Byzantinism, on the other hand, fell prey to the opposite temptation, that of caesaropapism. There man "acknowledged the emperor as the vicar of Christ, and almost deified him."⁴⁷ Thus papal caesarism and caesaropapism were but two false forms of Christian government. But "government cannot be a form of Christian society; accordingly, the Catholic papalism and Byzantine caesarism are vestiges of paganism, signs that humankind has not yet accepted Christ."⁴⁸

Berdyaev passes even more severe judgment upon the modern period, which he quite properly defines as the area of the Renaissance, and which he considers to be just ending. Its chief spiritual characteristic is humanism—the self-assertion of man. For it possesses a positive character of its own; it is not a mere rebirth of classical antiquity. The Renaissance man did not merely return to the world view of the Greek and Latin cultures—he could not do so even if he had wanted. For, after all, he had lived through more than a millenium of Christian culture which had become part and parcel of him. He only affirmed his newly-discovered individuality in terms of the ancient culture. But in it all he was consciously or unconsciously affirming or denying his Christian self. It was impossible for him to accept ancient paganism with all its original connotation: if the terms were pagan, the content was not.⁴⁹ At first, the humanistic self-assertion, the assertion of the man against the godman, took the aesthetic form in the outburst of astonishingly powerful artistic creativity such as the Western world had not witnessed since the days of Phidias and Praxiteles. Boccaccio and Dante, Giotto and Michelangelo, are the chief representatives of that glorious period of "the flowering of the Renaissance."

The same creative spirit manifested itself in the religious realm in the Reformation period. Man affirmed himself by repudiating the intermediary ecclesiastical organization which interposed itself between him and God. He insisted upon asserting the rights of his own conscience, upon his own immediate approach to God. Being a revolt, the Reformation was necessarily one-sided, over-emphatic. It is interesting to note Berdyaev's opinion of Protestantism, expressed as early as 1911:

Protestantism was not only a rupture with the Church, but also a healthy reaction against the deviations of Catholicism, against the degen-

47 *Filosofiya svobody*, 180.

48 *Ibid.*, 180.

49 "The End of Renaissance," in *Slavonic Review*, IV (1925), 5.

eracy within the Church. Protestantism attempted to renew the freedom of Christ which had been completely lost. In Protestantism was affirmed the principle of personality which lay at the basis of Christ's religion. The false teaching of medieval Catholicism regarding man, and the false debasement of man's personality, brought about the protest the relative correctness of which is beyond doubt. Protestantism was bound to make its appearance, because there existed in the history of Christianity no positive religious anthropology, and the vacancy was filled by a false anthropology. In the Protestant affirmation of personality and of freedom the new man was initiated, the man of modern history. In its beginnings, Protestantism was mystical,⁵⁰ but it did not possess within itself a creative religious force. It contained only a negative truth. In its further development it passed into rationalism. If there existed in Catholicism a false, misleading teaching regarding the Church, there still existed the Church; but in Protestantism the very idea of the Church gradually began to disappear. Rationalistic individualism, and the later positivism manifested themselves within the limits of that negative development.⁵¹

This rationalistic and moralistic tendency Berdyaev identifies particularly with Kant who, in his judgment,

was the continuator of Luther, the creator of philosophical Protestantism. . . . The Protestant rationalistic theology of the nineteenth century (Ritschl, Harnack) is founded on Kantianism. Protestantism broke the mystical threads which bound men to the Church. . . . Thereupon, Protestantism transferred the center of life's gravity and knowledge into the subjective world of man, into an isolated, self-contained soul.⁵²

Thus Berdyaev charges that Protestantism produced the Age of Enlightenment, rationalism, the French Revolution, positivism, and communism. But is this accusation just and fair? It does not appear so. For was it not the neo-pagan Renaissance, with its inherent humanism, its naturalistic and anti-Christian tendencies, which resulted in the Cartesian rationalism and Lockean empiricism, and the later movements deriving from these?

The third stage of human self-assertion is to be seen in the Age of Enlightenment, beginning with Cartesian rationalism and Lockean empiricism. In this phase, the creative force of the original impulse has exhausted itself. Thus we live in the last stages of the Renaissance era. Hume's skeptical philosophy is almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole empirico-rationalistic presuppositions, for Hume denies that there is either a thinker, or anything to think about, but merely a steady flux of thought. "Liberation from the false theocracy and denial of man led to

50 In a footnote Berdyaev asserts that German mysticism constituted the eternal principle of Protestantism.

51 *Filosofiya svobody*, 181.

52 *Ibid.*, 123; cf. *Freedom and the Spirit*, 354-55.

the overthrow of every religious sanctity, to the deifying of man and mankind, to atheism. Accordingly, all humanistic liberating process is of a dual character: it comprises a great truth, part of the religion of godmanhood, and a great lie, part of the emerging religion of human self-deification . . . Humanism, the religion of humanity, of human power and human superiority, become the pathos of the new humankind which has lost God."⁵³ The nineteenth century completed the process of negation: the philosophical development, culminating in Marx and Nietzsche, resulted in the negation of humanism. These two thinkers "have, with the precision of genius, defined the two forms of self-negation and self-destruction of humanism. Nietzsche shows us humanism destroying and denying itself individually; Marx . . . collectively . . . Nietzsche conceives man as degraded and ignominious; he aspires to his conquest; his will aims at the superman. The ethical teaching of Nietzsche does not admit the value of human personality. . . . In Nietzsche's teaching the superman replaces the lost God. . . . In the same way it [the human ideal] perishes in the super-human collectivism of Marx. . . . But in him, too, . . . humanism transforms itself into its opposite: into anti-humanism."⁵⁴

Thus the whole modern phase, particularly that beginning with the Cartesian "*faux pas*," as Archbishop Temple has called it, ended disastrously in the denial of man and of all authentic humanism.⁵⁵ This is the greatest failure in modern history, as all the preceding periods were likewise failures. "The Renaissance did not succeed; the Reformation did not succeed; the Revolution, originating in the Age of Enlightenment, did not succeed; its illusions lie scattered; the coming socialism will also fail of success."⁵⁶

Accordingly, "the fate of man in the modern world" is a paradoxical one; for modern man belongs to an age which began with humanism and ended in dehumanization. The dominance of technics in our modern society, the supremacy of our economic interests, philosophy of "futilitarianism" which actually treats spiritual life of mankind as "epiphenomenal," characterize our age. The capitalistic, bourgeois society is anti-personalistic; but the collectivist, socialist society is equally so. Both sacrifice personal values.

⁵³ *Filosofiya svobody*, 183.

⁵⁴ "The End of Renaissance," 16.

⁵⁵ *Freedom and the Spirit*, 219.

⁵⁶ "The End of Renaissance," 12.

What remedy, then, can Christianity offer to this modern world which is collapsing and disintegrating before our eyes? Is salvation to be conceived in almost exclusively eschatological terms, i.e., is man to do nothing but quietistically wait for the divine judgment at the end of the world? Or is the Church once more to impose its control upon human society in order to save it by force, as the Roman Catholic Church conceives the task? Berdyaev rejects both these alternatives, although there are elements in the former view with which he would agree. His answer is in accordance with the ancient tradition of Eastern Orthodoxy. He even uses the age-long terminology for it, although its connotation is relatively modern, having been wrought during the last one hundred years by the great lay theologians, Khomyakov, Solovev, and Dostoevsky. He terms it theanthropy—the godmanhood. The chief task of human life is to attain the transformation of the human into theanthropic. Accordingly, life is important.

If to Origen the world was created as the abode of fallen spirits and hence exists primarily as a place of discipline, it is not difficult to understand that he would not be greatly interested in the improvement of evil conditions. Each soul is undergoing a remedial treatment; each finds itself in an earthly environment commensurate with the sins committed by it in the preexistent world. The important thing is that such a soul find its way back to God. Moreover, there are other aeons, both in the past and the future, in which the work of purgation had gone on and will continue to go on.⁵⁷

Berdyaev was similarly criticized for lacking a real appreciation of the significance of this world. One of his Russian fellow-exiles accused him of "farsightedness," of living on a "two-dimensional plane," i.e., of dwelling in eternity rather than in the empirical world, emphasizing chiefly the spiritual existence prior and subsequent to our aeon.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Berdyaev in reality has a tremendous interest in formulating a Christian ethic. His book, *The Destiny of Man*, is devoted to this task.⁵⁹

His concept of salvation is that of transformation of human into divine-human, theanthropic personality. Christianity is a religion of redemption, of grace. But Berdyaev rejects all juri-

57 Butterworth, *Origen on the First Principles*, 78, 89, 126, 209, 237ff., 244ff., 249.

58 F. Stepun, "Po povodu pisma N. A. Berdyaeva," in *Sovremennyya zapiski*, XXIV (1925), 304ff.

59 N. Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man* (New York, 1937).

dical, forensic theories of justification, such as have been dominant in the West. He regards them as quite unworthy of the God who was revealed in Jesus Christ.⁶⁰ Redemption is not a judgment but a transforming process. This concept is wholly consonant with the dominant soteriological interest of the Christian East, beginning with Irenaeus and including Origen—an interest in transformation of human nature. Thus redemption is the work of divine love, not justice; of sacrifice on God's part, not propitiation of an angry Deity on man's part. It is a dual process; both God and man share in it. Moreover, it aims not merely at the restoration of the original state of man before the Fall, but at elevating man to a higher state. For man who had fallen away from God and afterwards voluntarily returns to Him, is ethically on a higher plane than the "innocent" spirit which has never sinned at all.

The process here spoken of is often referred to by the favorite traditional Eastern term of "deification," *theosis*. Berdyaev, like Irenaeus, does not shrink from using this daring language. But although to the sober Western taste such usage appears intemperate, as tending to obliterate the everlasting distinction between the creature and the Creator and landing one in the pantheistic "night in which all cows are black," Berdyaev's ecstatic vision of transformed humanity falls just short of the extremes of mystical pantheism. Nevertheless, one may find many expressions scattered throughout his writings which could better have been couched in less extravagant terms.⁶¹ In this respect, it is difficult to save Berdyaev from a justifiable stricture, at least for lack of clarity in statement, and perhaps for fuzziness of thought.

But Berdyaev condemns exclusive preoccupation with one's own salvation as "a satanic caricature of Christianity," or "minimum morality"—that of transcendental egoism. The purpose of the transformation of the individual believer is the transformation of society. For everyone is responsible for everyone else. In the realm of the spirit there is no such thing as a self-contained and isolated personality. "True heavenly bliss is impossible for me if I isolate myself from the world-whole and care about myself only. . . . Hence there can be no individual salvation or salvation of the elect only."⁶²

60 *Freedom and the Spirit*, 172.

61 *The Destiny of Man*, 106, 377; *Slavery and Freedom*, 45.

62 *Ibid.*, 25.

Thus man is saved in order that through his creative energies, sanctified and freely yielded to God, he may be used by God toward the transformation of human society. When man's energies are not so utilized, they are abused and finally work his destruction. Striving to become a mangod instead of Godman, man destroys himself, after having wrought havoc, misery, and suffering to others by his titanic efforts. Such is the paradox of humanism: to affirm oneself is to destroy oneself.

Transformation of society cannot be effected forcibly. The Church, which has for its aim the transformation of man and society, and which is the society of transformed persons, works not through outward, forcible means, but by inner regeneration of men. To charge Christianity with failure to dominate society is to misunderstand completely its nature.⁶³ The "failure of Christianity" is chargeable only to the failure of Christians, or the failure of non-Christians who refuse to accept Christianity.⁶⁴ God compels no one to believe in Him or to obey Him. He will force no one into communion with Himself. But to reject Him is only to choose evil and its consequent suffering.

But in view of this strong and constantly iterated emphasis on man's freedom, one may understand why Berdyaev does not share the expectancy of the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth. In the first place, such expectancy is often based on the mechanical notion of "progress" which he scornfully rejects. Secondly, since God does not force anyone to choose good, the possibility of rejecting God to the bitter end must be admitted and expected.

Accordingly, Berdyaev concludes that the realization of God's purpose—both in Christianity and human history generally—is not possible within time, but only in eternity. Christianity is a historical religion; but it has never been realized in history, and never shall be. It transcends history. Thus the destiny of the human spirit began prior to the creation of the empirical world, and shall be consummated beyond the span of that world. This is again a characteristic Origenistic notion. Nevertheless, history has a positive significance. It matters tremendously what one makes of his life.

But does Berdyaev share the sweeping speculation of Origen that ultimately all souls, including even the first and chief of

63 Emery Reves, *The Anatomy of Peace* (New York, 1945), 76ff., does it with a vengeance!

64 *O dostoinstve Khristianstva i nedostoinstve Khristian*, 9.

those spirits who had fallen away from God, shall find their way back to the Great Spirit, when "the goodness of God through Christ will restore his entire creation to one end, even his enemies being conquered and subdued"? For "the process will go on through the innumerable ranks of those who are making progress and becoming reconciled to God from their state of enmity, until it reaches even to the last enemy, who is called death, in order that he, too, may be destroyed and remain an enemy no longer."⁶⁵

Berdyayev does not appear to have reached full clearness upon this matter. His prevailing opinion is against it. His oft repeated view of immortality implies a repudiation of the doctrine of universal restoration. Although each human soul begins as a spiritual being, yet, having fallen to the level of the terrestrial plane, it may become so completely dominated by self-will as to destroy itself. In other words, the natural man possesses immortality only potentially. He acquires it by a process of struggle which is identified with the development of personality. The eternal and immortal part of man is not his body or soul, but the spirit. It is the latter which, by realizing the image of God, and by dominating the natural elements, attains to personality.⁶⁶ Accordingly, personality is the highest value in the world.

Furthermore, Berdyayev's radical doctrine of human freedom likewise argues against Origenistic universalism. For man must have the possibility of defying God forever, or, as Berdyayev put it, man "has a right to hell, as it were."⁶⁷ Since he often speaks of evil as being by nature self-destructive, it would appear that instead of thinking of the process of human defiance of God as endless, he would logically assert that it is terminated by man's self-destruction. But Berdyayev does not say so. In one passage, he expresses himself critically about Origen's attempt to elaborate a dogmatic theory about the tenet,⁶⁸ and goes on to say that a definite dogmatic solution has not yet been found. He prefers to think that it is a mystery incapable of solution by human reason.

Nevertheless, Berdyayev has many times expressed himself enthusiastically regarding the "destruction of the last enemy," death. He appears to have formed some concrete theory regard-

⁶⁵ Butterworth, *Origen on First Principles*, 52; cf. also 251-52.

⁶⁶ *The Destiny of Man*, 325; also *Freedom and the Spirit*, 54-55.

⁶⁷ *Freedom and the Spirit*, 324.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 323.

ing the *modus operandi*, which he frankly confesses to have derived from N. F. Fedorov.⁶⁹ But what this theory is I have never been able to understand, for the works of Fedorov are not available to me. From the summary statements of Fedorov's views which appear in Berdyaev's writings I have an impression that it is even more of a mystery incapable of solution by human reason than is the Origenistic universalism.

Such is the grandiose world view of the most radical modern exponent of spiritual freedom. But it is scarcely likely that Berdyaev will exercise a wide influence upon Western philosophical and theological thought. Nevertheless, a truly ecumenical approach to modern Christianity requires that the whole Christian tradition be sympathetically considered. In this Christian tradition, Origenism certainly holds a secure place. And I hope it has been made sufficiently clear that among the exponents of this tradition may be counted Nicholas Alexandrovich Berdyaev.

⁶⁹ Berdyaev writes about Fedorov in "Tri yubileya (L. Tolstoy, H. Ibsen, N. Fedorov), in "Put", No. 11, June, 1928; there is an utterly unenlightening excerpt from Fedorov's work in the same magazine (No. 10, April 1928).

CONSERVATIVE VERSUS PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY IN LATTER 19TH CENTURY CONGREGATIONALISM

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During the 19th century a concept, in itself neither religious nor anti-religious, modified the thought of a great number of Americans. This was the concept of gradual development. One application of this concept, which had a profound effect upon Congregational thought, was the assumption that insight into religious truth comes only gradually. This view seemed to threaten all formulations of tradition and all embodiments of revelation which had been assumed to be final and complete. Another concept, closely related to that of development, also gravely disturbed the New England theology of the latter 19th century. There was a revival of stress on the immanence of God within the created world. For certain Congregationalists, divine influence upon man came to be viewed as working wholly through the channels of natural law and natural growth, rather than by sudden invasion from without. To conservatives, this stress seemed to blur a central truth in evangelical theology, the perilous chasm between sinful men and the holy, judging God.

Horace Bushnell, Congregational minister in Hartford from 1833 to 1859, took the first steps in applying these concepts of development and divine immanence to Congregational thought. For this pioneering he was ostracized by many of his associates. It was not, however, until after Bushnell's death in 1876 that the genetic method and the concept of divine immanence were systematically applied to the New England theology. This reformulation became known as progressive orthodoxy or the new theology. Its most articulate leaders were: Newman Smyth, Theodore Thornton Munger, Egbert Smyth and George Harris. Newman Smyth and Munger spent their lives serving in pastorates in New England, Illinois and California. Egbert Smyth, brother of Newman, taught ecclesiastical history at Andover Theological Seminary during the last

third of the century. Harris came to Andover in 1883 to teach theology after the retirement of E. A. Park.

In brief summary, Congregational progressive orthodoxy set up another authority coordinate with the Bible and traditional Christian theology. This authority was the Christian consciousness, the insights derived from present experience of Christ. This Christian consciousness, progressive orthodoxy declared, interprets the Bible and defines true doctrine. In natural consequence, progressive orthodoxy asserted that understanding of the Bible grows from generation to generation, contrary to the conservative view that the meaning of Bible verses is evident and its message constant.

Progressive orthodoxy modified the Hopkinsian view of divine sovereignty by asserting that God is immanent in the created world, that his ways are consistent, predictable and ethical. God, these men declared, is Christ-like. Hence a theology which teaches divine attributes or actions which offend the Christian consciousness needs to be modified. One aspect of God's consistency, as seen by progressive orthodoxy, is that His Holy Spirit works through natural processes. Thus man's regeneration is primarily by gradual development rather than by unpredictable invasion. Moreover, this spiritual development may carry on beyond death into the intermediate state. Progressive orthodoxy's assumption that regeneration is possible after death became known as the belief in future probation.

The atonement, according to progressive orthodoxy, is primarily a new creative influence reorienting men's wills to God, rather than a sacrificial propitiation of God. In accordance with God's consistency, this atonement will eventually be brought to bear as a consciously experienced influence on all men. Those who have not experienced Christ in this life will meet him in the next. This belief in future probation for some men, became, during the year from 1860 to 1890, the most notorious tenet of progressive orthodoxy. Conservatives expressed their alarm at the reformulation of theology in terms of development and divine immanence by attacking this belief in future probation.

The sources of progressive orthodoxy were manifold. In part it stemmed from the manner of thought of America as a whole around the middle of the 19th century. Gabriel, Curti and Hofstadter have shown that the tendency to think in terms

of development was characteristic of the American mind at this time. Americans extended this to a general optimism about the future possibilities of individual human beings and of society. Also prevalent was a faith in reason and law as fundamental characteristics of the operation of the universe. Progressive orthodoxy assimilated a measure of all these intellectual tendencies. It also inherited the experiential and ethical emphases of a century of evangelical revivalism, although it turned these emphases to new purposes. In part progressive orthodoxy was an attempt to combat scepticism and indifference by making Congregational theology more practical and more relevant to the needs and thoughts of latter 19th century Americans.

The militant conservatives who attacked Bushnell and opposed the rise of progressive orthodoxy were laymen, ministers and teachers. Their views were expressed most systematically by such professors in theological seminaries as Enoch Pond at Bangor, Edwards A. Park at Andover, George N. Boardman at Chicago and Israel Dwinell at Pacific. In general terms, these aggressive conservatives believed that the Bible is a completed and rationally self-evident revelation; that modification of the central doctrines of the New England theology is extremely dangerous; that God's ways need no justification to men, even when they do not fit into a rationally consistent pattern; that conversion is effected by a sudden inflowing of the Holy Spirit, independent of previous development of character; and that the atonement is primarily significant as a sacrifice upholding the honor of God's law, rather than as a motivating force in re-orienting men's wills toward God. Finally these conservatives tried to maintain a sense of present spiritual crisis by insisting that all men who are impenitent at death are doomed to everlasting punishment.

For two reasons the primary clash between conservative and progressive orthodoxy came over the nature of the salvation of the heathen. This happened because the doctrine of future probation, advanced by progressive orthodoxy, was a dramatic revision of a doctrine which had been cardinal in the New England theology, the doctrine of retribution. It happened also because the possibility of post-mortem salvation seemed to destroy one of the chief incentives supporting the vast foreign mission enterprise. This incentive was the assumption that virtually all the unconverted world would suffer endless and horrible punishment.

Two subjects other than eschatology were, however, also central points of issue between progressive and conservative orthodoxy. These were the definition of the nature of the revelation in the Bible and of the significance of the atonement. The positions taken by both groups on these two subjects were integrally related to their views of eschatology.

Progressive orthodoxy declared that the Bible's meaning is not evident to any and all human minds. As it was written by God-inspired men, it can be interpreted adequately only by men who have experienced Christ. Christian consciousness as well as reason are necessary to gather its meaning and to be convinced that it is divine revelation. Bushnell had spoken for progressive orthodoxy, when he declared that the Bible should not be studied as a "magazine of propositions and mere dialectic entities, but as inspiration and poetic forms of life, requiring, also, divine inbreathings and exaltations in us, that we may ascend into their meaning."¹ George Harris declared that the Bible is more than an infallible authority for solving perplexing problems. Such a conception may miss some of its highest meanings. It is a Book of Life and can be interpreted only by "our intelligence illuminated by the spirit of truth."²

George N. Boardman represented the conservatives in rejecting this view of the Bible as useless for those who had not already arrived at a Christian consciousness. He demanded a view of the Bible "which can be enforced upon the world." The Bible must be seen as specific, revealed truth, authoritative and evident.³ Conservatives such as Boardman perpetuated the rationalism which Bushnell had described in 1849 when he had declared, "The possibility of reasoning out religion, though denied in words, has yet been tacitly assumed. Not allowing ourselves to be rationalists *over* the Scriptures, we have yet been as active and confident rationalists under them, as it was possible to be."⁴

The prevailing view of the atonement in mid-19th century Congregationalism was the governmental theory. Enoch Pond, president of Bangor, had expressed it thus, "His sufferings and death in our room and stead as fully sustain the authority of the law, as fully meet the demands of justice, as fully answer

1 H. Bushnell, *Nature and the Supernatural* (3rd ed., N. Y., 1858), 499ff.

2 *Andover Review*, II, 343, 344 (October, 1884).

3 *Annual Theological Review*, II (Chicago, 1884), 228-262.

4 Horace Bushnell, *God in Christ*, (Hartford, 1849), 92.

all the purposes of the Divine government, as would the infliction of the penalty itself."⁵ In the governmental theory, the atonement is only secondarily an offering to men of a new and compelling motive toward holiness.⁶

Over against this view, progressive orthodoxy emphasized the atonement as redemption through the creative forces released into humanity by the incarnation. Bushnell indeed was accused of having no doctrine of the atonement, only one of redemption. Bushnell had actually recognized that the atonement is significant, in part, as a declaration of the righteousness of God and the sanctity of His law. But he had declared that the primary purpose of the atonement is to transform man. It is neither leniency nor severity but new creation at fearful cost. When evil had become an organic power of darkness, Christ came down into "the great river of retributive causes where we were drowning to pluck us out . . . atoned, reconciled with God, transformed by the inward touch of God's feeling and character."⁸

This man-ward emphasis in the atonement was characteristic of progressive orthodoxy. Harris saw Christ in history so related to each and all men as to embody the race. His suffering is thus the race's suffering. Through Christ the race expresses its repentance to God and recognizes the righteousness of God's law. Moreover, the influences of Christ's life and death achieve the highest purposes of the law, for they enable men to achieve some measure of obedience to Christ's exacting commandments.⁹

A natural result of this stress on the atonement as an influence enabling man to rise to the achievement of righteousness was the assumption that the atonement could be effective for men only when they are consciously acquainted with the gospel message. On the contrary, the conservatives' stress upon the objective, governmental accomplishment of the atonement was related to their insistence that individual appropriation of the atonement is possible wherever God sends His Spirit to renew men's hearts. This could happen in heathen lands where the

5 Enoch Pond, *Lectures on Christian Theology* (Boston, 1867), 396, 397, 388, 389, 394.

6 Edwards A. Park, *Introductory Essay to The Atonement* (Boston, 1859), ix-xi. 7 *God in Christ*, 220-237.

8 Horace Bushnell, *Vicarious Sacrifice* (N. Y., 1866), 385-390, 403, 404.

9 *Progressive Orthodoxy*, by the editors of the *Andover Review* (Boston and N. Y., 1886, 46-53; George Harris, "Law and Grace," *Andover Review*, May 1888, Vol. IX, 459-461.

gospel had never been preached nor the Bible read. Such salvation of the heathen, however, was assumed by most conservatives to be unusual. It implied an extent of repentance and virtue not evident in the heathen's earthly conduct.

The disagreement between conservative and progressive Congregationalism on the manner and extent of the salvation of non-Christians awakened general interest and aroused feelings over the country. Concern over the dilemma of the heathen lay behind the growth of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Founded in 1810, it had grown by 1885 to an enterprise with annual receipts of over 600,000 dollars, 83 mission stations, 156 ordained missionaries and over 1300 native teachers. The promotion of missions had done much to inform the laity about the way of life of non-Christians. The world-wide reach of commerce in the 19th century extended this knowledge. Between 1871 and 1886 James Freeman Clarke's sympathetic study of the *Ten Great Religions* went through twenty-one editions.¹⁰

The struggle of conservative against progressive Congregationalism was carried on in four arenas: in installation and ordination councils; in the National Council meetings; in the policy of Andover Seminary; and in that of the American Board.

According to the *Congregationalist*, there were twenty-two ordaining or installing councils between 1860 and 1882 in which the belief in future probation, the badge of progressive orthodoxy, had been an issue. During these years the conservatives lost their battle to proscribe this belief. It will be seen that the decentralized polity of Congregationalism made their defense an impossible one. Among the controversial councils which were given nation-wide publicity were those involving George A. Jackson, T. T. Munger and Newman Smyth. In 1871 Jackson, a graduate of Andover, was refused ordination in North Adams, Massachusetts, because he asserted the future opportunity for repentance for all those who die impenitent. The next year he was called to a church in Leavenworth, Kansas, where one council rejected him and then another larger one ordained him. In 1877 there was another important council held at North Adams, this time to consider the installation of Munger; he had declared that physical death does not necessarily end God's offering of mercy to the human soul, that such mercy

10 Arthur M. Schlesinger, "A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900," in *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 64, 523-548.

is extended until the character becomes fixed in evil. Under the influence of such members as Mark Hopkins, Noah Porter and Washington Gladden, the council decided in Munger's favor.

At this time some leading Congregationalist ministers felt that the alarming deterioration of orthodoxy could be arrested only by adopting a polity more like that of the Presbyterians. Congregational definition of orthodoxy, however, was firmly planted in the local church councils. The successful installation of Newman Smyth, eloquent leader of progressive orthodoxy, in New Haven in 1882, may be considered the conclusive defeat of the conservatives in the arena of local councils.

In 1880 the struggle was carried over into the National Council meetings, which had arisen out of a revived nationwide denominational consciousness. In 1852 the first inclusive Congregational synod in over two hundred years had been held. By the 1870's a triennial national council had been established. Conservatives saw some hope of forestalling the spread of progressive orthodoxy by getting this council to adopt a declaration of faith including sound doctrine on the nature of the Bible, on the atonement and on eschatology. Against the desires of liberals a creed commission was designated at the 1880 National Council meeting. The hopes of the aggressive conservatives were disappointed, however. A highly representative commission of twenty-five college presidents, seminary professors, ministers and editors drew up the so-called Commission Creed, which was soon labelled by the conservatives the Omission Creed. It declared that the Scriptures are "the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged." It did not declare them to be the only authoritative standard as the militant conservatives wanted. George P. Fisher, a member of the commission and professor of ecclesiastical history at Yale, explained that the adjective "only" had been omitted to leave a real place for the authority of conscience. In fact, the creed also left a place for progressive orthodoxy's Christian consciousness. At two other points the creed was unsatisfactory to conservatives. It did not explicitly declare the governmental theory or the expiatory nature of the atonement. Nor did it say that probation ends at death.

In the spring of 1882 the issue of a broad versus a rigid definition of orthodoxy became a problem of policy for the

oldest theological seminary in the country, Andover. The previous year Park had resigned from the Abbot chair of Christian theology. The Andover faculty and trustees had, by an almost unanimous vote, decided that his successor should be Newman Smyth, one of the leading formulators of progressive orthodoxy. The decision of the faculty and trustees was, however, subject to review by three men who constituted the Board of Visitors. This board had been set up at the founding of the seminary, to guard the interests of the Hopkinsian associate founders, who had joined with the moderate Calvinists in establishing the seminary only after much hesitation. The Visitors voted two to one against taking Smyth on the faculty at Andover.

The following year Park fired a parting shot at his progressive orthodoxy colleagues on the Andover faculty, in a book entitled *The Associate Creed of Andover Theological Seminary*. In this volume he contended that no professor believing in progressive orthodoxy could honestly subscribe, as he had to every five years, to the creed drawn up by the Hopkinsian associate founders. Park's contention was revived in 1886 in a formal complaint by four alumni to the Board of Visitors against the Andover professors who were spokesmen of progressive orthodoxy. The complainants contended that Egbert Smyth, William Tucker, George Harris, John Churchill and Edward Hincks "no longer continue to approve themselves men of sound and orthodox principles in Divinity agreeably to the Creed, which they have made and subscribed a solemn declaration that they believe, and to which they have promised religiously to conform." The Visitors, again by a vote of two to one, sustained this complaint against Egbert Smyth, editor-in-chief of the *Andover Review*, and ordered him to leave his teaching post. He appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. In 1891 this court annulled the decree of the Visitors, because the latter had not entertained evidence from the Board of Trustees in coming to their decision.

Neither the decisions of particular local councils nor the determination of policy at one seminary could commit the Congregational denomination as a whole to either a rigid or a broad definition of orthodoxy. Even the National Council Commission Creed could not do so. This creed was not binding upon any local church except as it chose to adopt it. There was one body, however, whose policy was, by implication and in

practice, binding upon the whole denomination. This was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It was a self-perpetuating closed corporation, but it drew missionaries and funds from the Congregational denomination at large. Moreover, when its Prudential Committee decided that an applicant, already ordained by a Congregational council, was theologically unsound, it had in effect a power of determining Congregational orthodoxy superior to that of the councils.

From 1876 to 1893 the man who carried on all preliminary correspondence with missionary candidates and presented their cases to the Board's Prudential Committee was a crusading conservative. This man, Edmund K. Alden, was committed to a proof-text use of the Scriptures, to the expiatory meaning of the atonement, and to the decisive nature of earthly life in deciding the final fate of all men, heathen or Christian. He had been one of the two members of the National Council Creed Commission who had refused to sign his name to the final document because it was too broad.

In 1877, the year after Alden became home secretary of the Board, a man applied for foreign service declaring, "To some God's grace may be extended and by some this grace may be accepted in the conscious intermediate state between death and the judgment." The Prudential Committee rejected this applicant as unfit. By the fall of 1886 several more, able applicants believing in future probation had come before the Prudential Committee and had been, in effect, rejected. Moreover, Robert Hume, a returned missionary had been, for the time being, refused reappointment because of sympathy with the future probation hope. He had served in India for twelve years with an impressive record as editor and teacher. In addition to these cases which had reached the Prudential Committee, there were several others whom Alden had discouraged in preliminary correspondence. The Board's membership split with intense feelings over whether or not to support this assumption that no man believing in future probation could make a sound missionary.

For seven years, from 1886 to 1893, the annual meetings of the American Board were disastrously distracted from current administrative problems by the future probation controversy. There was talk of an inevitable rift in the denomination. There was more talk of setting up a rival missionary organization which would send out any man ordained by a Congregational council, if qualified in respects other than theological belief. The

Berkeley St. Church in Boston ordained its assistant pastor for missionary work, after he had been turned down on three successive occasions by the Board. The church sent him to Japan with its own funds. Students at Yale, Andover and Bangor seminaries, indispensable sources of personnel for the Board, became in large measure resentful of the Board's theological requirements and refused to apply. Finally, contributions failed to increase proportionately to the growth in membership and wealth in the denomination.

By 1893 a majority of the Board's membership became convinced that its policy was a self-defeating one. They capitulated to the pressure from the churches to have a share in the nomination of new corporate members, which indirectly meant a share in determining Board policy. The symbol of the final victory of the party of toleration in Congregationalism was the appointment in 1893 by the American Board of William Noyes. He was the candidate thrice rejected for his belief in future probation and finally sent out to Japan as an independent Congregational missionary. The final effort of aggressive conservatives to maintain the old beliefs intact met defeat in this liberalization of the policy of the American Board.

THE RIDDLE OF THE 13TH CANON OF ANCYRA

CYRIL C. RICHARDSON
Union Theological Seminary

Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτροπῆναι ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ.

"It is not permitted that country bishops should ordain presbyters or deacons, nor, moreover, may city presbyters do so, without the written permission of the bishop in each parish."

This canon, which is still on occasion cited to uphold presbyterian ordination in the early church,¹ so bristles with difficulties, that it is perhaps advisable to refrain from using it to prove anything.

The case against its having any bearing on the right of presbyters to ordain as late as 314 A.D., has been presented by C. H. Turner in his note appended to Charles Gore's *The Church and the Ministry* (1936) pp. 327-30. But this case can be considerably strengthened by further considerations; and the reconstruction of the canon which Turner proposes is not altogether convincing. I should like, therefore, to suggest some lines of thought which may help toward clearing up its difficulties.

The canon involves three primary problems:

- (a) What is the correct text?
- (b) What is the force of *alla mēn mēde*?
- (c) To whom do the "city presbyters" refer?

(a) The earliest Greek manuscripts, as Turner points out, favour the readings of *chōrepiscopous* and *presbyterous poleōs*; but the Latin tradition, which is of peculiar weight for these canons, suggests a dative in the case of *presbyterois poleōs*. This is the reading of the Isidorian 'antiqua',² and its significance is great. For the dative has not been determined by translating the accusative construction with *mē exeinai* into the more usual dative with *non licere*. On the contrary, the Latin preserves the ac-

1 e. g. Lowrie, W., *Ministers of Christ*, 1946, 52, and see Lightfoot, J. B., *Commentary on Philippians*, 1896, 232-3 ("Dissertation on the Christian Ministry").

2 Turner, C. H., *Ecclesiae Orientalis Monumenta Juris Antiquissima*, 1907, II. I. 84.

cusative with *chorepiscopos*, but renders *presbyteris* in the dative. It is only in the later versions of Dionysius that a dative is found in both places. This would lead us to suppose that the canon originally started off with an accusative, and continued with a dative. The reason would be to avoid the ambiguity in the accusative, *presbyterous*, which could be read either as the subject or as the object of *cheirotonein*. The dative makes it decisively the subject, and the corruption into an accusative in the Greek manuscripts is perhaps an attempt to smooth out the apparent difficulty in the canon. A later scribe would doubtless think there was something wrong with a regulation which presupposed city presbyters could ordain. Hence he made it possible to read *presbyterous* as the object of *cheirotonein*. Facing the same problem, the Isidorian 'antiqua' took a different line. While preserving the dative, the translator changed the canon somewhat violently to suit his own views. He added "amplius aliquid jubere vel . . . aliquid agere," to avoid the implication of presbyters ordaining.

We conclude, then, that the text of the canon given above is likely to be the correct one.

(b) The exact sense of *alla mēn mēde* is difficult to assess. On the basis of two examples (Socrates, H. E., III, 1 *ad fin*; and Basil, *ad Eunomium* III, 6), Turner has rendered the idiom "nay, not even". It is intended, he thinks, to exclude "a stronger or more possible case" than the one previously mentioned. It is not, however, clear that this is the necessary meaning in the passages he cites. It is possible for the second, but somewhat harsh for the first, Socrates is arguing that two of Julian's actions belie the imperial dignity, though one of them is consistent with a philosopher's character. "To throw out cooks and barbers," he says, "is the action of a philosopher, but surely not that of a king. To ridicule and jeer, on the other hand, are not actions of a philosopher, nor are they, moreover, of a king." To translate this, "nay, not even of a king", implies something Socrates scarcely intended, viz. that to refrain from abuse is *more* akin to a philosopher's conduct than to a king's.

The translation "nor, moreover" would fit the passage in Basil as aptly as does Turner's "nay, not even", though there is nothing in the context to favour either view. Regarding the appropriate way of speaking of the Holy Spirit, Basil says, "No one is so completely out of his mind as to dare to address any other than the God of the Universe as Unbegotten; nor, more-

over, (nay, not even) can one address the Spirit as Son, since the Only-begotten is unique."

The precise meaning of the idiom remains an open question, and more evidence would be needed before we could be certain that Turner's emphasis was correct. As matters stand, the antecedent probability is that the phrase has a quite general sense, merely adding a negative to the *alla mēn*. This latter, in post-classical Greek, is a frequent way of introducing a new point in an argument. Again and again, for instance, it is used by Josephus to mean "moreover, in addition to the foregoing points", or "moreover, to add further weight to the argument."³ Nothing is implied that the new point has more or less weight than those already stated; though by coming second, it tends to be of less importance. So far as the *de* in *mēde* is concerned, it probably entails no special emphasis, seeing that a simple negative precedes. All in all, therefore, the translation "nor, moreover" would seem to be adequate.

Before turning to consider the question of the city presbyters, we may note the difficulties in Turner's reconstruction of the canon. Rendering *alla mēn mēde* by "nay, not even", he claims something is wrong with the canon, since (on this interpretation) it would imply that city presbyters had *more* right to ordain than did country bishops. He, therefore, suggests deleting the word *presbyterois*; and he understands *poleōs*, standing alone, as intended to balance the *chōra* in *chōrepiscopois*. He further adduces the fact that the Syriac version omits the word *presbyterois*. He thus renders his restored canon, "Country-bishops may not ordain priests and deacons, nay, not even city-bishops may do it, without the written authorization in every case of the diocesan bishop."

The difficulties with this reconstruction are fourfold. In the first place, we are at a loss to explain how such a hard word as *presbyterois* ever came to be intruded. Later scribes would surely have filled in *episcopois*, but never *presbyterois*. Secondly, *poleōs* standing alone, would be peculiarly harsh Greek, even for these canons. Thirdly, the need for such a reconstruction depends upon taking *alla mēn mēde* in a sense which is not sufficiently

³ e.g. *Contra Apionem* I, 14; 196; 286; 300; II, 289; *Wars* II, 355; 371; III, 369; cf. *Ep. ad Diognetum* IV, 1. Occasionally the sense of contrast is preserved in the *alla*, so *Antiq.* 19, 146, "yet forsooth." In dialogue, however, *alla mēn* has some interesting nuances: e.g. Plato, *Theat.* 187A, where it introduces a point not disputed, so Josephus, *Wars* II, 195; VI, 332. Again, it has the force of "nay, on the contrary", in *Wars* I, 631.

proven. Finally, the Syriac evidence is better open to the interpretation that the translator purposely tried to smooth out a difficulty by omitting the word. *Presbyterois* is too well attested in the Greek manuscripts and in the Latin versions to be regarded as an intruder, unless a very telling explanation were forthcoming as to why it was later added. Turner seems to solve the problem of the canon by posing an even more difficult riddle.

(c) Having defended the text and translation of the canon given at the beginning, we may now turn to the crux of the problem: who are the city presbyters? It is, I believe, unthinkable that the bishops at the Council of Ancyra, in 314 A.D., laid down a canon suggesting that city presbyters *as such* were ordaining presbyters and deacons, and recognizing this as lawful, provided they obtained the consent of their diocesan. Even if the Diocletian persecution produced some marked irregularities, and city presbyters were invading the rights of bishops⁴, as the deacons of this period were invading those of presbyters⁵, it is hard—nay, impossible—to believe that an oblique reference in a single canon would countenance presbyterian ordination. Nowhere else, at this date, do we hear of presbyters ordaining⁶; and the staunchest defenders of the presbyters, such as Jerome, make it clear that ordination is the exclusive right of the bishop. The canon is not concerned with a theory of the primitive period, or with some oddity of Alexandria in the second century. The council is laying down regulations for the church in 314 A.D., and attempting to meet pressing and immediate problems. If, indeed, presbyterian ordination had been such a problem at that date, it would never have been relegated to an after-thought in a canon about country bishops.

The riddle of who these city presbyters are, is not hard to

4 Perhaps by assuming the right of confirmation (*consignare*), of which Ambrosiaster speaks in Com. on Eph. 4:12.

5 e.g. Arles, Canon 15.

6 A few alleged cases have been sufficiently answered by C. Gore, *op. cit.* Regarding the apparent difficulty in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, where in canon 2 it is said that "one of the bishops and presbyters" is chosen to lay hands on the new bishop and say the consecration prayer, it must be recalled that canon 4 flatly contradicts this. Canon 2 looks like a careless piece of writing, of which there are many in these canons. The compiler is dependent upon the *Apostolic Tradition* for this section about the election of a bishop, but he has freely rewritten his source. In the earlier part of the canon he has neglected the two references to the presbytery in *A. T.* 2. 2 and 3, and seems to have introduced this theme in the wrong place. Can it be that, as an after-thought, he realized his omission of the presbyters, and put them in here rather to *emphasize their presence*, than to insinuate they might ordain? He does not say, "One of the bishops or presbyters"; and he is very clear in canon 4 about the bishop's unique prerogative.

solve when we give due weight to the fact that their case is suggested by that of the *chorepiscopi*, with whom they are closely connected. *They are evidently bishops who act as city presbyters.* We hear of them in two connexions, once in these same canons of Ancyra, and once again the Nicene canons. Ancyra 18 has in mind a situation where bishops have been duly consecrated for their parishes; but, through the turbulence of an antagonistic minority, they have been unable to exercise their jurisdiction. The parishes have refused to receive them. They must, then, the canon orders, revert to the status of city presbyter in their former parish; though it would seem they were not deprived of their episcopal title.⁷ Nicaea 8 deals with a not dissimilar problem. What shall be done with schismatic bishops⁸ who are reconciled to the Catholic church? It is ruled that where there is no Catholic bishop they may exercise episcopal functions; but where there is a bishop already, they must become city presbyters, in deference to the principle of one bishop to a city. They can, however, enjoy the title, though not the jurisdiction, of the episcopate, if the Catholic bishop permits it.

These erstwhile bishops thus formed a special class of city presbyters. Like the *chorepiscopi*, they were a type of subordinate bishop; and evidently they at times caused trouble by performing ordinations without permission. It is not surprising, therefore, that their case should have been treated along with that of the country bishops, to whom they were so akin. Seeing they were already bishops, they had, of course, the power to ordain. But they were limited in exercising this function. Only with the diocesan's express consent could they do so, because their jurisdictional status was that of city presbyter.

Ancyra 13 was, therefore, directed against several kinds of subordinate bishops, whether *chorepiscopi* or those who acted as city presbyters. So understood, the canon makes much sense, and explains why the city presbyters turn up in such close connexion with the country bishops. It was only at a later period, when this particular class of city presbyters was long forgotten, that the canon came first to be altered, and eventually misinterpreted.

⁷ Is this not the sense of *tēs timēs*, which is clearly contrasted with *kai tēn timēn tou presbyteriou*, in the next sentence? Cf. *tēs timēs tou onomatos* of Nicaea 8, in reference to the episcopal title.

⁸ In this instance 'Cathari' or Novatian bishops.

**MINUTES OF THE
SIXTY-FIRST CONSECUTIVE MEETING
OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY**

DECEMBER 30, 1946

The annual meeting of the American Society of Church History was held on Monday, December 30, 1946, in Hotel Pennsylvania and Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

MORNING SESSION

President Matthew Spinka called to order the meeting of the Society in joint session with the American Historical Association in Parlor One of Hotel Pennsylvania at 10:00 A. M. The first paper was read by Professor Roy W. Battenhouse on the subject, "The Doctrine of Man in Renaissance Platonism and Calvin." The second paper, "Emphasis on the Gospel and Christian Reform in Late Medieval Preaching," was read by Professor Ray C. Petry. There were a large attendance and a prolonged and interesting discussion.

AFTERNOON SESSION

At 2:00 P. M., President Spinka called the meeting to order at Union Theological Seminary. In the absence of Professor Craig R. Thompson, his paper, "Erasmus' Colloquy *Inquisitio de Fide*," was read by Professor Kenneth S. Latourette. "The Anabaptists' Theology of Missions" was the subject of the next paper by Dr. F. H. Littell. Professor E. R. Hardy, Jr., read the third paper on "Tudor Suffragan Bishops, A Sidelight on the English Reformation." After a discussion of the first three papers the program continued with a paper prepared by Mr. David E. Swift on "Conservative versus Progressive Orthodoxy in Latter Nineteenth Century Congregationalism," which in his absence was read by Professor Robert Hastings Nichols. The last paper of the afternoon was read by Professor S. H. Thomson on "The Influence of Augustine upon Grosseteste and Wyclif."

Following the discussion of these papers, President Spinka called the Society into business session at 5:00 P. M. The min-

utes of the annual meeting held at Union Theological Seminary on December 27-28, 1945, were approved as printed in *Church History*, March, 1946. The secretary reported the death of William O. Shewmaker, the resignation of two members, the reinstatement of three former members, the dropping from the roll of seven members for non-payment of dues, and the election of twenty-nine new members. (For names see the Minutes of the Council, December 29, 1946.)

The auditing committee consisting of F. W. Buckler and Winthrop S. Hudson reported that they had examined the Treasurer's report and his books and that they were correct and in order. On motion, the Treasurer's report, presented by Robert Hastings Nichols, was approved, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY
FOR THE YEAR DECEMBER 11, 1945-DECEMBER 11, 1946

I. CURRENT FUNDS

A. SUMMARY AND BALANCE

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, December 10, 1945	\$ 542.30
Membership dues	1,534.75
Sale of <i>Papers</i>	9.14
Income from <i>Church History</i>	644.48
<i>Studies</i> —see Schedule C	357.23
Total Receipts	<u>\$3,087.90</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Expenses of management of Society	\$ 506.38
Publication of <i>Church History</i>	1,346.77
<i>Studies</i> —See Schedule C	112.20
Total Disbursements	<u>\$1,965.35</u>

Cash on hand, December 11, 1946:

National Bank of Auburn, checking account, per bank statement	\$1,133.98
Less unreturned checks: No. 901-	\$3.18
No. 910-	8.25
	11.43
	<u>1,122.55</u>
	<u>\$3,087.90</u>

B. GENERAL FUNDS AND MAGAZINE

RECEIPTS

Membership dues		
1943— 3 members	\$ 9.00	
1944— 7 members	21.00	
1945— 18 members	55.00	
1946—441 members	1,325.75	
1947— 7 members	21.00	
1948— 1 member	3.00	
Life— 1 member	100.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,534.75	
Sale of <i>Papers</i>	9.14	\$1,543.89
	<hr/>	
Subscriptions to <i>Church History</i> (145)	\$ 428.60	
Sale of copies	215.88	644.48
	<hr/>	
		\$2,188.37

DISBURSEMENTS

Management of Society		
Postage and express charges	\$ 105.33	
Printing and mimeographing	50.44	
Telegrams and telephone charges	2.29	
Stationery and supplies	14.16	
Stenographic services—Secretary	\$ 41.75	
Stenographic services—Treasurer	231.90	
	<hr/>	
	273.65	
Safe-deposit box	6.00	
Bank charges	9.89	
Charges on Canadian checks	1.62	
Returned checks	6.00	
Legal services	25.00	
Travelling expenses—Secretary	12.00	
	<hr/>	
		\$ 506.38
Publication of <i>Church History</i>		
Printing and distribution of magazine	\$1,090.11	
Other printing	11.10	
Postage and express charges	65.92	
Telephone tolls and telegrams	3.05	
Stationery and supplies	12.65	
Stenographic expenses: Managing editor	\$ 47.59	
Treasurer	112.85	
	<hr/>	
	160.44	
Refund	3.50	1,346.77
	<hr/>	
		\$1,853.15

C. STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY

RECEIPTS

Sales (including postage)

Volume II	\$ 8.49
Volume III	7.94
Volume IV	14.90
Volume V	23.48
Volume VI	291.48
Monograph I	6.22
Monograph II	4.10
Rockwell pamphlet .....	.62
Total	<u>\$357.23</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Volume II

Postage	\$.49
Stenographic service .....	.55
Editorial services .....	.74
Settlement with author	6.61
	<u>\$ 8.39</u>

Volume III

Postage .....	.44
Stenographic service .....	.80
Editorial services .....	.66
Settlement with author	5.94
	<u>7.84</u>

Volume IV

Postage .....	.90
Stenographic service	1.60
Editorial services	1.26
Settlement with author	2.87
	<u>6.63</u>

Volume V

Postage	1.41
Stenographic service	2.25
Editorial services	2.06
	<u>5.72</u>

Volume VI

Postage	9.88
Stenographic service	32.60
Editorial services	25.97
	<u>68.45</u>

Monograph I

Postage .....	.39
Stenographic service	1.20
Editorial services .....	.83
Settlement with author	7.44
	<u>9.86</u>

Monograph II

Postage .....	.07	
Stenographic service .....	.50	
Editorial services .....	.35	
Settlement with author	3.18	4.10

Rockwell pamphlet

Postage .....	.06	
Stenographic service .....	.10	
Editorial services .....	.11	
Settlement with author .....	.94	1.21

\$112.20

II. ENDOWMENT FUND

A. CASH

RECEIPTS

December 11, 1945, cash in Auburn Savings Bank	\$1,306.37
Interest United States Bonds	267.50
Interest Manufacturers' Trust Company	29.07
Interest Auburn Savings Bank	22.43
Dividends on general claim, Manufacturers' Trust Company, principal of Fund	42.15
Total of receipts	\$1,667.52

DISBURSEMENTS

None

December 11, 1946, cash in Auburn Savings Bank, per bank book	\$1,667.52
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DIVISION OF ENDOWMENT FUND CASH

Interest, Brewer Prize Fund, \$10,000 2½% U. S. bonds	\$ 889.43
*Publication Reserve	553.05
Principal of general Endowment Fund	79.62
Interest on general Endowment Fund	145.42

\$1,667.52

B. SECURITIES, December 11, 1946

\$962.53 guaranteed first mortgage certificate, series N64, No. 207,
of New York Title and Mortgage Company, in liquidation, Man-
ufacturers' Trust Company trustee

\$10,000.00 registered U. S. Treasury Bond, 14,385, 1944-53, 2½%	
\$ 500.00 registered U. S. Treasury Bond, 2,445E, 1944-53, 2½%	
\$ 100.00 registered U. S. Treasury Bond, 3,228J, 1944-53, 2½%	
\$ 100.00 registered U. S. Treasury Bond, 3,229J, 1944-53, 2½%	

These securities are in the Society's box in the safe-deposit depart-
ment of the 11th Street Branch of the National City Bank of New York.

*Proceeds of sales of Studies, amounting to \$260.67, were not trans-
ferred to Publication Reserve before the accounts were closed. The ac-
tual Publication Reserve is \$813.72.

III. COMPARATIVE STATEMENT—OPERATING ACCOUNT

General Funds and Magazine

RECEIPTS					
	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46
General	\$ 996.57	\$1,049.78	\$1,075.96	\$1,244.32	\$1,543.89
Magazine	488.08	430.08	444.97	484.23	644.48
Totals	\$1,484.65	\$1,476.86	\$1,520.93	\$1,728.55	\$2,188.37
DISBURSEMENTS					
General	\$ 390.30	\$ 367.92	\$ 448.20	\$ 489.98	\$ 506.38
Magazine	1,109.90	1,112.35	1,142.73	1,175.86	1,346.77
Totals	\$1,500.20	\$1,480.27	\$1,590.93	\$1,665.84	\$1,853.15
Operating deficit	\$ 15.55	\$.41	\$ 70.00		
Operating surplus				\$ 62.71	\$ 335.22

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS, *Treasurer*.

The report of the Editorial Board was read. (See Minutes of the Council).

The report of the Council on nominations was presented. The persons nominated for the respective offices were duly elected. (See names in Minutes of the Council).

It was reported that the final selection of the winning manuscript for the Brewer Prize had been referred by action of the Council to the Editorial Board and the secretary with power to act.

After a vote of gratitude to the committee on local arrangements and to Union Theological Seminary for its hospitality the business session was adjourned at 5:45 P. M.

EVENING SESSION

Following the annual dinner at the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University, the newly elected president, Ernest G. Schwiebert, called the meeting to order and presented the retiring president, Matthew Spinka, who read the presidential address on the subject, "Berdyayev and Origen: a Comparison." After an interesting discussion the Society adjourned at 9:00 P. M.

Attest: RAYMOND W. ALBRIGHT, *Secretary*.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

DECEMBER 29, 1946

President Matthew Spinka called to order the meeting of the Council of the American Society of Church History at Union Theological Seminary on December 29, 1946, at 7:30 P. M. Members present were Matthew Spinka, Robert Hastings Nichols, Winthrop S. Hudson, F. W. Buckler, E. R. Hardy, Jr., Kenneth S. Latourette, Ernest G. Schwiebert and Raymond W. Albright. John T. McNeill was welcomed as an advisory member.

The minutes of the meeting of the Council on December 27, 1945 were approved as printed in *Church History*, March, 1946.

The treasurer presented his report, which was referred to the auditing committee. President Spinka named F. W. Buckler and Winthrop S. Hudson as the auditing committee.

It was voted that the life membership dues paid by Conrad C. Chapman be added to the Endowment Fund.

Matthew Spinka read the report of the Editorial Board, which was adopted and its recommendations approved, as follows:

The Editorial Board reports an unusual year, both in income and expenditures. The total income from the membership dues, subscriptions, and the sale of publications, as is shown in the itemized statement of the Treasurer, is \$2,188.37. This is in part due to an unusually large sale of copies of *Church History*, which amounted to \$215.88, and a life membership of \$100. Such large items are not likely to be repeated next year.

On the other hand, the cost of printing was increased by 20%. The September issue was paid at the new rate. Expenses of printing and distributing *Church History* amounted to \$1,346.77. Since only \$1,200 was appropriated for the purpose, we are sorry to report that we have not been able to keep within the appropriation. But since the total income was unusually large, the increased *Church History* costs were not only absorbed, but a gratifying operating surplus has been accumulated.

We estimate that the total cost of publishing *Church History* next year will be about \$1,525. It is doubtful whether the income next year will be sufficient to meet the sharp increase of printing costs. Accordingly, we

recommend that the appropriation for this purpose be set at \$1,300, and that the Treasurer be authorized to draw upon the Publication Reserve for the remainder of the sum needed to meet the total expense. At present, the reserve fund amounts to \$813.

We furthermore regret to report that the Brewer Prize Committee has so far not made its report concerning the award of the prize in this year's contest.

Respectfully submitted,
MATTHEW SPINKA,
ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS.

After hearing the report of the Brewer Prize Committee it was voted that in keeping with the action adopted at the 1945 annual meeting the final selection of the winning manuscript be referred to the editorial committee and the secretary.

Winthrop S. Hudson, chairman of the committee on arrangements for the meeting in the Spring of 1947, reported that the meeting would be held at Butler University on April 11-12, 1947.

The matter of procuring information for an article for *Church History* to be prepared by Donald Yoder was referred to the Editorial Board with power.

The secretary reported changes in the membership roll as follows:

Died, William O. Shewmaker;

Withdrawn by resignation, Walter T. Rossnagel, Norman K. Tully;

Reinstated by the secretary and treasurer, Hubert K. Martin, S. Harrison Thomson, John Christian Wenger.

The resignations reported were accepted with regret.

The treasurer having reported that seven members were in arrears for dues for three years, it was voted to strike their names from the roll, as required by the constitution, as follows:

Marion Edward Clark
Carroll D. W. Hildebrand
Armas K. E. Holmio
Werner G. Keucher

Ernest W. Parsons
Galbraith Hall Todd
Paul A. Varg

The Council elected to membership in the Society the fol-

lowing persons who were properly nominated, subject to fulfillment of the constitutional requirement:

M. C. Allen	Paul G. Kuntz
J. W. Bailey	F. H. Amphlett Mickle-
John W. Beardslee, 3rd.	wright
Richard R. Caemerer	Hugo J. Mierau
William R. Cannon, Jr.	William A. Morrison
Robert R. Clemmer	Ralph Dornfield Owen
Paul E. Cooper	John F. Saarinen
John Daniel	Leo E. Saidla
Oscar G. Darlington	Crawford Scott
George B. Fowler	Howard Elmo Short
George P. Gallos	Thomas K. Thompson
John G. Gazley	William L. Thompson
George M. Gibson	Tertius van Dyke
John F. C. Green	Daniel P. Walther
Charles F. Johnston	W. Menzies Whitelaw
Puzant H. Kalfayan	Leon Wright

In the absence of a report of the committee on nominations, the Council constituted itself a committee on nominations and nominated the following persons for the offices named:

President, Ernest G. Schwiebert
 Vice-President, Marshall M. Knappen
 Secretary, Raymond W. Albright
 Treasurer, Robert Hastings Nichols
 Assistant Secretary, Winthrop S. Hudson
 Chairman of the Editorial Board, Matthew Spinka
 Other Members of the Council

F. W. Buckler	Kenneth S. Latourette
E. R. Hardy, Jr.	Sandford Fleming
Harold S. Bender	James Hastings Nichols
Percy V. Norwood	Massey H. Shepherd

Cyril C. Richardson

Committees

Program and Local Arrangements for the Annual Meeting: Matthew Spinka, chairman; Leland H. Carlson, James Hastings Nichols, with power to co-opt others.

Editorial Board: Matthew Spinka, Managing editor, Robert Hastings Nichols.

Membership: Roland H. Bainton, chairman; J. M. Batten, R. W. Battenhouse, M. M. Deems, Clifford Drury, J. T. Ellis, Sanford Fleming, R. W. Goodloe, John T. McNeill, Robert Hastings Nichols, Ray C. Petry, W. W. Rockwell, G. H. Williams, and Raymond W. Albright.

Investment of Endowment Funds: Robert Hastings Nichols, chairman; Frederick W. Loetscher.

Nominations for 1947: Percy V. Norwood, chairman; F. W. Buckler, Robert Hastings Nichols.

The Council adjourned at 9:40 P. M.

Attest: RAYMOND W. ALBRIGHT,
Secretary

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIAN SUPERNATURALISM

By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946, \$3.00.

"The sky hung low in the ancient world. Traffic was heavy on the highway between heaven and earth. Gods and spirits thickly populated the upper air, where they stood in readiness to intervene at any moment in the affairs of mortals" (p. 1). With these words the author begins his presentation of "Supernaturalism in the Ancient World." I quote them so that the readers of this review may be intrigued to read the book.

That Christianity did not originate supernaturalism but that it did make itself very much at home in the supernatural world into which it came is demonstrated throughout the book. In the various techniques and approaches used by man to get into communication with deity the Christians not only had a part but contributed positively to the over-all supernatural aura of the Graeco-Roman world. In every instance Christians could more than match the claims of philosophy and mystery religions. Of far greater importance was their ability to influence deity through strategies already at hand.

As the author tells us in his Preface, this book presents the historical data which provided the basis for his *Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times*, first published in 1929 and now out of print. Some of the chapter headings are identical; some of the language is the same. The latter volume is not as pretentious as the earlier book, but it is soundly grounded on scholarship and it emphasizes the origins of the supernatural. It is rich in its familiarity with the ancient classics and it is pertinent to our day with the modern emphasis upon supernaturalism. Relative to this last point are the following sentences:

"The present-day outcome for belief in supernaturalism is threefold. The ancient mode of thinking which has been passed down in Christian tradition is still widely represented by persons who have given little or no heed to modern knowledge of nature. The biblical imagery of divine intervention regardless of physical laws is uncritically perpetuated by religious people who pray to God to change the weather or to alter some other natural cause of events in order to show some special material favors to the suppliant. At the other extreme are those who so magnify the physical reality of the universe that the material facts of life are self-controlled and leave no room for any operation of spiritual forces inherent in the making of history or in individual experience.

"A third form of thinking rejects the traditional brand of supernatural imagery, which depicts divine action as an arbitrary interference with nature by an other worldly power, but seeks within the natural world itself evidence of the spiritual strivings and ideal values that belong in the

sphere of religion. These are the religious naturalists, whom their opponents are wont to call strict materialists but who stoutly repudiate the accusation. They find in history and in the normal processes of human living evidences of a spiritual reality that seems to them more tolerable, trustworthy, and significant than anything propounded by the traditional type of belief in revelation handed down from a transcendental realm" (pp. 231, 232).

I have made this lengthy quotation not merely to show the position taken by the author, nor to demonstrate how he connects the supernaturalism of the ancient world with that of our own, but also to give an example of the lucidity of his style and the urgency of his argument.

Chicago Theological Seminary.

Mervin M. Deems.

THE VENERABLE BEDE: HIS SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS

By SISTER M. THOMAS AQUINAS CARROLL. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946. x, 270 pages.

In treating systematically Bede's teachings on the practice of religion, Sister Thomas Aquinas Carroll has selected a topic well worth study. For moderns Bede is primarily the historian, but in his own time his historical works were devoted mainly to the practical exposition of the Scriptures, Sister Thomas Aquinas classifies her material on a basis suggested by Bede's common standards of judgment. He is interested to note whether people were Catholics and whether they lived up to their faith; this suggests including in his spiritual teaching what he has to say about the Church and its sacramental system, about sin, and about the life of virtue. The learned Sister has read the works of Bede thoroughly and the literature about him with discrimination; her presentation is at times a little heavy, but is undoubtedly intelligent, conscientious, and clear.

Perhaps the chief interest of Bede's practical spiritual teaching is the appearance in it of a number of ideas and practices in a close approach to their standard medieval form. Sister Aquinas' book will guide the reader admirably to the study of a number of these points. Bede, for instance, assumes the system of private penance; "The Church as Bede Knew It" (Chapter II) is the glorious City of God, no longer struggling in a pagan world, but enthroned among professedly Christian nations. The reviewer would like to note interesting evidence on the administration of confirmation, which might supplement the recent study of Gregory Dix on that subject; Bede urges episcopal confirmation, yet, since he connects the gift of the Spirit with the priestly anointing at baptism, has little to say of confirmation except that it must confer some blessing (pp. 106, 132). Sister Aquinas rightly points out the Catholic spirit of his teaching on the Eucharist and justification. I should like to add that his fervent but strictly biblical and christological devotion to Mary is a form of Catholic piety commonly congenial to Anglicans. And so on many points he reflects an interesting stage of development, the evidence for which it is valuable to have so usefully collected.

Berkeley Divinity School.

E. R. Hardy, Jr.

DIE BYZANTINISCHEN QUELLEN
DER GESCHICHTE DER TÜRKVÖLKER

By VON GYULA MORAVCSIK. (*Byzantinoturcica I*). Budapest: K. M. Egyetemenyomda Könyvesboltja; Athens: Bibliopoleion Eleuthero-dakes, 1942. 379 pages.

The primary purpose of this remarkable book is to provide a study of the material found in Byzantine sources for the history of the Turkish peoples, the term Turkish being used in the widest sense. However, the author's conception of his responsibilities, and his wide and accurate learning in Byzantine source material, have produced a work whose usefulness extends far beyond the scope suggested by the title. In order to make possible the best use of the sources, the author has provided a comprehensive study of every Byzantine text and document which throws any light upon the Turkish peoples. These studies cover every aspect of the ancient writers' activities, and are not confined to matters which concern the Turkish peoples alone. The result is that the book constitutes to a considerable degree a new history of Byzantine historical writing, including *acta et diplomata*, in which bibliographical material of an astonishingly wide range is collected.

In addition, the author has written a clear and well-balanced introduction on the history of the Turkish peoples (which includes a survey of Byzantine history), on the characteristics of the sources, and on the method of utilization of the sources. Each section of this introduction is carefully documented; the survey of Byzantine history includes a succinct bibliography which lists all the major treatises and the works of reference on the subject. In the section covering the sources, there are, in addition to a survey of the texts and of the studies of Byzantine historiography, accurate and comprehensive treatments of the ancillary disciplines, hagiography, technical writing, geography, papyrology, epigraphy, numismatics, and sigillography, palaeography, textual criticism, chronology, and finally a compact history of scholarship and a list of periodicals devoted to Byzantine subjects.

Scholars everywhere will be grateful to Professor Moravcsik for a book which may easily be characterized as one of the most important contributions to Byzantine studies made in recent years, and will wish him and his pupils all success in their further labors.

Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D. C. Glanville Downey.

LES GRANDS PROBLÈMES DE L'HISTOIRE BYZANTINE

Par CHARLES DIEHL. Paris: A. Colin, 1943 (Collection A. Colin, Section d'histoire et Sciences économiques, No. 237). 178 pages. 1 map.

When Charles Diehl died in 1944 at the age of 85, he left behind him a lifetime of enviable accomplishment (cf. "A la mémoire de Ch. Diehl," *Byzantion*, XVII [1944-5], pp. 414-423). One of his endowments, which he possessed almost to a unique degree, was the ability to generalize with-

out superficiality and over-simplification, an ability based upon the fortunate combination of profound scholarship with a singularly lucid and felicitous manner of writing.

In this pocket-sized volume, his last book, Diehl reviews the problems—religious, political, economic, military—which the Byzantine Empire encountered during its long existence. The problems are analyzed, the measures taken to meet them are described, and the Empire's successes and failures are evaluated. A final chapter sets forth the problems of historiography which today still await scholarly investigation.

To the specialist, the book is a valuable summary and synthesis; to the scholar in other fields and to the general reader making first acquaintance with the subject, it is an introduction of high authority, embodying the wisdom collected during a lifetime of penetrating observation and reflection, and written with unimpaired clarity.

A work so valuable in so many ways as this should be translated into English, as should also Diehl's earlier book, *Byzance: grandeur et décadence* (1919), written for a similar purpose but with a somewhat different method of treatment.

There are a map of the Byzantine empire in A.D. 1025 and a short bibliography of the principal general histories and monographs on Byzantine civilization. The publisher supplies a useful list of Diehl's major works. Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D. C. Glanville Downey.

CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD VON OSSIG (1489-1561)

By SELINA GERHARD SCHULTZ. Norristown, Pa.: The Board of Publication of the Schwenckfelder Church, 1946. xv, 453 pages.

The dissenters of the Reformation have had to wait a long time for objective and adequate biographies. In many instances the best primary sources—the writings of these ill-starred leaders—became exceedingly rare because of the hostility of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Quite naturally, too, the traditional appraisal of these condemned "heretics" often rested on the quite misleading representations of victorious but still unforgiving and unfavorably disposed opponents. A fitting illustration of these remarks is furnished by that noble Christian scholar, evangelist, reformer, and writer who forms the theme of this substantial and engaging volume. Even German church historians waited till the latter half of the nineteenth century before seriously addressing themselves to the task of doing justice to this notable figure in early Protestantism. And as for works in English, a glance at our author's four-page bibliography reveals less than a dozen titles dealing directly with the subject proper.

To Mrs. Schultz belongs the honor of giving us our first full-length portrait of Casper Schwenckfeld. She writes with an obvious admiration for this spiritual ancestor of hers but likewise with a mastery of the factual material that betokens a long and intimate acquaintance with the seventeen folio volumes—two of them still in manuscript—of the *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*. Much of the interest in the purely narrative sec-

tions centers in the fact that Schwenckfeld, by reason of his noble birth, his scholastic attainments, his broad culture, and his winsome manner, was at home in the highest social circles of Germany, while his theological innovations brought him into contact with leaders of every rank in the ecclesiastical world of his day. After brief accounts of his early life and education, his services at the court of Duke Friedrich II of Liegnitz, his religious "awakening" in 1518, and his fruitful labors as a lay evangelist during the eight years of his adherence to the Lutheran cause, we have the story—told with restraint but with a due regard for its pathetic results—of his disillusioning visit to Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Jonas at Wittenberg, his consequent "second awakening" in 1526, and his entrance upon that stormy "Middle Way" that he was destined to traverse as an "independent" reformer the rest of his days. The most interesting and valuable chapters of the monograph are those that deal with his wanderings in South Germany after he voluntarily exiled himself from his native Silesia in 1529; his many encounters—at colloquies and synods and by countless letters—with the champions of the more popular reform movements; his final but vain attempts to win Butzer, Luther, and Melanchthon to his views; and his steadfast loyalty to his convictions in spite of persecutions, slanders, and threats of assassination. The evidence makes plain that in courtesy and sincerity, in love of truth and righteousness, in sacrificial devotion to what he regarded as the cause of Christ, and in sheer moral greatness, he often stood on a higher level than even the most illustrious of his opponents. It is in the painstaking and skillful delineation of the noble character of this man that the excellence of this book lies.

On the other hand, the exposition of Schwenckfeld's theology leaves not a little to be desired. The reader, to be sure, receives the benefit of many excerpts from his writings—some of the quotations run through more than a dozen pages—but there are little critical analysis of the material and no adequate presentation of the views of opponents. One misses here the incisiveness and the precision of a specialist in this highly controversial realm. Such descriptive terms as "the Middle Way," "spiritual," as against "literal," interpretation of the Scriptures, "mystical piety", and the like, may be useful, but if they are not to prove misleading they need more accurate definition than they here receive. It may well be that Lutheran and Zwinglian pastors often had occasion to envy the success of Schwenckfeld's conventicles—he never wished to organize his followers into a separate church—but certainly the majority leaders among the Protestants opposed him primarily because to them his interpretation of the gospel and the sacraments seemed fundamentally wrong and utterly reprehensible.

There are minor inaccuracies and infelicities to which attention might be called. Most Protestants will not approve without qualifications the statement (p. xx): "Because they engaged the interest and support of political and military powers, Luther and Zwingli succeeded in making a more enduring break with the medieval church." One should like chapter and verse for the sentence (p. 188): "Zwingli, too, said that God is the author of sin, and that man is impelled by God to sin. . . ." Quite unwarranted is the verdict (p. 207): "In brief, all of the reformers who met at Marburg, October, 1529, without exception, surrendered to Luther's externalism their convictions of the spirituality of religion." Nor may it be

out of place to refer to the many instances in which the word "transubstantiation" is misspelled.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to give a fair view of the contents, the merits, and the defects of this instructive and enjoyable biography. Those specially interested in Schwenckfeld's theology will feel the need of a more adequate treatment of the subject. But one may safely say that for a long time to come this erudite volume will have a useful ministry for all students of the Reformation in general and of Schwenckfeld and his fellow dissenters in particular.

Princeton, N. J.

Frederick W. Loetscher.

RELIGION ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER 1783-1840: IV, THE METHODISTS

By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 800 pages. \$10.00.

The fourth volume in the monumental series on religion on the American frontier, 1783-1840, sustains the high level attained by the other three (*The Baptists*, *The Presbyterians*, and *The Congregationalists*.) Many encomiums already have been passed upon the present volume. Though largely a book of source material—journals, reports, diaries, conference minutes, sermons, etc.—it contains many pages of introductions and explanations by Dr. Sweet which guide the reader through the intricate maze of frontier happenings. The author's brief General Introduction of seventy pages is a splendid summary of early Methodist history in the colonial and frontier periods.

From a vast amount of available material the author and compiler was forced to select the most significant portions. These represent the Journal of Bishop Whatcoat; the Dromgoole Letters (1778-1812); Journal of Benjamin Lakin; Journals of the Illinois Annual Conference (1824-31); Journal of James Gilruth; Letters of Orceneth Fisher; material dealing with Indian Missions in Kansas; records of various church trials; publishing activities of frontier Methodism; and finally, frontier deeds, class-meeting rules, sermons, and exhortations.

By reading this book one gets a better appreciation of the sacrifices and self-denying labors that went into Kingdom building on the American continent when it was still largely virgin soil, raw, rugged, and rough. Some of the episodes and stories related are as fascinating as a novel. Stark tragedy interchanges with delightful comedy, low motives and crime are interspersed with noble daring and sacrificial deeds. Confessions are made and recorded that hardly seem possible to the modern scene in churchly affairs. In the church trials nearly every type of culprit appears, such as the liar, swindler, cheat, adulterer, renegade, stealer of a pig, the user of unministerial language, etc. These demonstrate the far-reaching attempts to keep the ministry pure and above reproach. The documents show that no effort apparently was made to cover up sordid details.

We speak of our spiritual founding *fathers*. Most of them were young and many died young, because of the terrible rigors of their mode of living. Men they were who could use the rifle and ply the fishing rod. They were

well acquainted with the secrets of the woodman's art. They often met Indians on the war path, dealt with obstreperous mules, fell into raging torrents, waded through swamps, slept out in the open and sometimes in filthy rooms which had already been pre-empted by unmentionable insectivora. When circumstances demanded it, the circuit rider became a doctor, a carpenter, a teacher or a farmer. That their sermons were not always appreciated is reflected in the despairing cry of one parson, "Lord raise the Ded!" Spelling was often atrocious and diction faulty, but the heart, on fire, was completely dedicated to the winning of souls. One of these pioneers had a truly capacious appetite, eating 32 peaches and then a full breakfast. On the strength of this performance he received the bishop's recommendation: "Berryman will do for an Indian missionary" [p.533].

Some of the autobiographies are well written, giving evidence of minds that were well trained. Some of these pioneer preachers had been tutored in the school of hard knocks with few facilities for reading except as they travelled on horse from place to place. In spite of these handicaps, a few obtained a fair knowledge of history and literature and even a smattering of Greek and Hebrew. Preaching was often extremely personal with the finger pointed at the individual who needed reprimanding. Thus on one occasion the eccentric James Axley in an exhortation unmercifully excoriated a Judge White sitting on the front seat, after he had taken in hand a number of minor offenders. Pointing directly at him he began to blast the Judge as "that dirty, nasty, filthy tobacco-chewer . . . Look at the puddles on the floor; a frog wouldn't get into them; think of the tails of the sisters' dresses being dragged through that muck" [p. 728f]. The judge later testified that he never again chewed when in church.

A book of information invaluable to the historian and inspirational to clergy and laity alike. Virtually all the source material included is published here for the first time.

Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

A. W. Nagler.

THE MANTLE OF ELIAS

By M. LEONA NICHOLS. Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort. 337 pages. \$2.50.

The list of titles dealing with the history of the founding of Christianity upon the Pacific Slope is slowly but gradually increasing. Here is an important volume dealing with the work of Fathers Francois Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, two pioneer priests from Montreal, Canada, who arrived at old Fort Vancouver in the late fall of 1838. They were contemporaries in Old Oregon of such well known Protestant missionaries as Jason Lee and Dr. Marcus Whitman.

The author, a well known newspaper woman of Portland, Oregon, claims to have drawn for her material upon original sources, some of which were in French. She has endeavored to present her account in strict impartiality, without entering into the merits of the religious controversy between the Catholics and the Protestants, especially in the days following the Whitman massacre.

A very interesting section (in six point type) is found in pages 256-

337 giving transcriptions of early Catholic parish records of Oregon. These were made available through the courtesy of the Archbishop of Portland. The records of St. Patrick Church, Walla Walla, which included those of the Mission of St. Rose, appear to have been abbreviated. This is unfortunate for students of the Whitman mission who would like to know more about the activities of the Catholics at the time of the Whitman massacre. Contemporary reports speak of them moving about the Cayuses baptising the sick and the dying, while such references are omitted in this book. Indeed, the author (p. 332) explains: "Only a representative listing has been taken from the records."

The chief defect of the book is the author's habit of supplementing with imagination what can not be supplied by documents. The reader does not know when he is reading definitive biographies or when the text becomes an historical novel. There are only a few footnotes. A few minor errors were detected as, for instance, the statement on p. 135 that the Lees brought wagons with them to Oregon.

San Anselmo, California.

Clifford M. Drury.

TOWARD A UNITED CHURCH

THREE DECADES OF ECUMENICAL CHRISTIANITY

By WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.
264 pages. \$2.50.

This volume is the first to bring up to date the successive movements which culminated in the World Council of Churches in 1938. Following an historical review of early approaches to unity, Dr. Brown regards the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America "as an experiment in a new form of unity," constituting "a precedent" "which was destined to be followed thirty years later" in the World Council. The Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 was another first step, and the Faith and Order movement still another towards the same end.

The author, however, reverts to the Federal Council which, in association with the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, prepared for the Universal Christian Conference (later Council) on Life and Work at Stockholm in 1925. In 1914, initiated by the Church Peace Union, with the cooperation of the Federal Council, a conference in Constance, Germany, organized the World Alliance. In 1915 the Federal Council commissioned its General Secretary "to confer with European Church leaders" on a proposal for "an international conference of the Churches after the war." The Federal Council in 1916 took further action, resulting ultimately in a preparatory conference convened by the Council at Geneva in 1920. This conference appointed a continuation committee to prepare for "an *ecumenical* conference of church bodies." Dr. Brown regards the resulting Stockholm Conference on Life and Work of 1925 as the decisive step toward the ultimate World Council. "The approach through Life and Work" leads to the Conference on Church, Community and State at Oxford in 1937, where "a plan for the World Council" was first approved.

In the meantime other ecumenical movements appear along the way

which become tributary to the main stream. Meanwhile also the "approach through Faith and Order" takes us to Lausanne in 1927 where a continuation committee is appointed and the final conference on Faith and Order meets at Edinburgh just after the Oxford conference. Oxford and Edinburgh named committees which met at Utrecht in 1938 and started the World Council on its course. An Epilogue by Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert brings the World Council up to date.

Dr. Brown interprets with incisiveness as he tells the story and we have flashes of groups and personalities whose lives were built into the structure. Appendices include nine historical documents and there is an Ecumenical Bibliography by Paul G. Macy. The chart of "The Ecumenical Tree" needs revision in the interest of historical adequacy.

While not always objective and although at times lacking in complete accuracy, Dr. Brown has left us a volume which is especially timely as the churches of the world face the aftermath of war and the task of reconstruction.

Mountain Lakes, N. J.

Charles S. Macfarland.

THE REBIRTH OF THE GERMAN CHURCH

By STEWART W. HERMAN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946. 297 pages. \$2.50.

Future historians may regard the dozen years of Nazi rule as a decisive epoch in the long story of the Christian Church. In this momentous setting, the struggle of the German Church, Catholic and Protestant, against what people on the continent call secularism is of extreme importance. Stewart Herman's *The Rebirth of the German Church* (the title is largely the publisher's choice) is the best recent account of which I know. The British edition appeared in November about a half year after the American. Requests for copies are coming from Finland, Norway, France, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere, to say nothing of Germany. Everywhere there are people who want to know what happened "inside Germany" particularly with respect to the Church. Dr. Herman's book will whet this appetite. His rapid journalistic style, somewhat in the tempo of Vincent Sheean's *Personal History*, conveys a readable mixture of general impressions and miscellaneous information. One almost expects something like this from a young man who has spent most of his twelve years since graduating from Gettysburg Seminary as pastor of the American Church in Berlin, or in some other ecclesiastical or diplomatic work that has kept him busy in Britain and on the Continent.

The Rebirth of the German Church, prefaced with a telling word by Martin Niemöller, brings together both historical and current material. What is left of the one time naziphile German Christians is now, as the chapters indicate, "religious rubble." The collapse of their movement, however, reveals the "faulty structure" of the pre-Hitler church, and discloses the importance of the "confessional rock" which withstood the storm of nazi opposition. The Church's refusal to bless the war or to pray for victory is a tale of "friends amid the foe." The collapse of Germany's military efforts and the effect of allied occupation on religious life receive a

good chapter. The crucial subject of repentance and reform in the church as highlighted in October, 1945, at Stuttgart, is treated with tact and understanding. The author was a member of the ecumenical delegation meeting with German leaders. He was also present at the stirring assembly at Treysa in August, 1945, when the so-called EKID, or Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, was organised and the time had come for "laying new foundations." From friends and travellers he gathered data for a striking chapter on those who live "between Hammer and Sickle" in the Russian zone. His participation in the commission which visited Germany in January, 1946, to investigate social needs (out of which grew CRALOG or the Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany), provided material for a vividly tragic chapter on the plight of the people "when winter came" and the illusion of peace and liberation vanished. The concluding chapter sets forth the problems and challenge of peace. Herman concludes, "In many respects the struggle of the German Church has only begun. A new beginning has been made, in fact the Church in Germany seems to have been reborn. But will it live?" (p. 272).

The perplexing problem of the church's struggle for existence in a secularised world has thus been highlighted in the case of Germany. *The Rebirth of the German Church* is not the last word on the subject; actually it is an excellent opening word for the post-war period. Much more remains to be studied and learned before a definitive history of these crucial years can be produced. Dr. Herman has rendered the service of a pioneer. But there are at least two other works which should be known and read in connection with Herman's book. These are Johannes Neuhaeuser, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz, der Kampf des National-Sozialismus gegen die Katholische Kirche und der Kirchliche Widerstand* (München, Verlag Katholische Kirche Bayern, 1946. 2 vol., 384 and 440 pp.); and the Uppsala theologian's scholarly account of the German church struggle to 1939, Gunnar Westin, *The Protestant Church in Germany and Sweden* (printed for private circulation at the Oxford University Press, 1945, 416 pp.). Unfortunately, both of these works, like so many others of late, have been printed in very limited editions. Other competent European scholars are now at work gathering basic documents and seeking to tell the story before its costly lessons are forgotten. But the material is scattered, destruction especially in cities has obliterated much of what was held as treasure for a day of peace, and hunger and mental weariness stand in the way of any speedy course of action. Nevertheless, the manner in which the church fared and will continue to fare in Germany is a story of ecumenical and global significance.

World Council of Churches, Geneva.

E. Theodore Bachmann.

ARTICLES DEALING WITH CHURCH HISTORY FROM
RECENT PERIODICALS

Compiled by M. M. Hutchins and J. H. Nichols

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

- James G. Van Buren, "The Conceptions of the Church Reflected in the New Testament," *Shane Quarterly*, July, 1946. 108-144.
- H. P. V. Nunn, "The Epistles of Ignatius," *The Evangelical Quarterly*, October, 1946. 262-272.
- W. L. Knox, "Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July-October, 1946. 180-184.
- John I. Hochban, S. J., "St. Irenaeus on the Atonement," *Theological Studies*, December, 1946. 525-557.
- R. H. Connolly, "St. Ambrose and the *Explanatio Symboli*," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July-October, 1946. 185-194.
- Arthur Little, S. J., "The Conversion of St. Augustine," *The Irish Monthly*, February, 1946. 59-67.
- Raymond V. Schroder, S. J., "The Significance of St. Augustine," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, October 1946. 260-270.
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- O. Vasella, "Walther Kohler, 1870-1946," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, Fascicle II, 1946. 158-159.

AMONG THE MEMBERS

EDITED BY WINTHROP S. HUDSON

- R. W. ALBRIGHT's *History of the Evangelical Church* has been reissued in a revised second edition. He also is the author of an article in the Winter (1946) issue of *Christendom*, entitled "A New United Church" (Evangelical United Brethren).
- MILTON V. ANASTOS has been appointed assistant professor of Byzantine Theology in the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University in Washington, D. C.
- LEON ARPEE is the author of two recently published volumes *A History of Armenian Christianity*, (1946), and *A Century of Armenian Protestantism* (1946). An article "The Riddle of the Armenian Alphabet" was published in *The Mirror-Spectator* (N. Y., 1946).
- E. E. AUBREY, president of Crozer Theological Seminary, delivered the 1946 Swander Lectures at Lancaster.
- ROLAND H. BAINTON of Yale Divinity School is the author of "The Early Church and War," *Harvard Theological Review*, and "Eyn Wunderliche Weyssagung Osiander-Sachs Luther," *The Germanic Review* (Oct., 1946).
- W. E. BAUER has been appointed Dean of the Faculty and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana.
- HAROLD E. BERNHARD has been appointed Professor of Social Sciences in Carthage College, Carthage, Illinois.
- GEORGE J. BETO of Concordia College, Austin, Texas has published *The Marburg Colloquy: A Textual Study*.
- HERBERT G. BREDEMEIR has been appointed president of Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Indiana.
- A. T. DE GROOT of Chapman College is the author of a significant study of a local church in its larger setting: *Central of Des Moines* (1946).
- GLANVILLE DOWNEY of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D. C. is the author of "The Pagan Virtue of *Megalopsychia* in Byzantine Syria," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1945 (published Nov. 1946).
- EARNEST E. ELLS, assistant secretary Presbyterian Minister's Fund, has been advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Chaplaincy Reserve Corps.
- GEORGE P. FEDOTOV of the Russian Theological Seminary is the author of *Russia's Religious Mind* (Harvard University Press, 1946).
- ROBERT FRIEDMANN has started a new Department of Philosophy at Western Michigan College of Education, in addition to his work in the History Department. A book, *Mennonite Piety through the Centuries* is now in press at the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pa.
- CARL W. GAMER has been appointed assistant professor of government in Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois.
- A. H. GEORGE has been appointed Dean in Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

- HAROLD J. GRIMM, associate professor of history in Ohio State University, is the author of a recent article "Luther and the Peasants' Revolt," *The Lutheran Church Quarterly* (Apr. 1946).
- FRANCISCUS HANUS is the author of *Church and State in Silesia under Frederick II, 1740-1786* (Catholic University Press 1944), and *The Early History of the Cistercian Abbey Leubus in Silesia from 1150-1350* (Breslau University Press, 1947).
- E. R. HARDY, JR. of the Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, is the editor of *Orthodox Statements in Anglican Orders* (Morehouse-Gorham, 1946), and the author of "Die amerikanische bischöfliche Kirche in den Jahren 1939-1945", *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (Bern, 1946).
- SIDNEY BLAIR HARRY has resigned his pastorate in Indianapolis and is now General Presbyter of Presbytery of St. Louis.
- CHARLES A. HAWLEY is the author of a series of small booklets dealing with aspects of religion in the Middle West. The first three deal with the Cumberland Presbyterians in Kansas, the history of the First Presbyterian Church at Atchison, Kansas, and the life of Duncan Chambers Milner.
- FRANCES K. HENDRICKS has been promoted to a full professorship in Trinity University. She also is chairman of Department of History and Government.
- PAUL HONIGSHEIM has been appointed Professor of Sociology, Anthropology, and Foreign Studies in Michigan State College. He has recently delivered lectures on "Greek Orthodoxism and Sovietism" before the Ohio Valley Sociological Society and the Midwest Sociological Society.
- F. D. KERSHNER, Dean Emeritus of the School of Religion, Butler University is on the editorial Staff of the *Christian Evangelist* and writes a weekly column for *Lookout*.
- FRANK J. KLINGBERG of the University of California is the author of *Carolina Chronicle: The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716* (University of California Press, 1946).
- RALPH E. KNUDSON has been appointed Dean of the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, Berkeley, California.
- CORNELIUS KRAHN, professor of church history and director of the Bethel College Historical Library, is editor of the new quarterly, *Mennonite Life*, and associate editor of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*.
- BABETTE MAY LEVY is the author of "Mutations in New England Local Color," *New England Quarterly* (September, 1946).
- WILLIAM W. MANROSS has published a review article in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* discussing the revised article on the Protestant Episcopal Church in the *Encyclopedia Americana*.
- JOHN B. MOOSE is professor of Historical Theology in Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary.
- CHARLES F. MULLET of the University of Missouri is the author of "A Case of Allegiance: William Sherlock and the Revolution of 1688," *Huntington Library Quarterly* (Nov. 1946).
- A. W. NAGLER of the Garrett Biblical Institute is the author of "Revision-

- ist Trends in the Roman Church", *The Iliff Review*, (Winter, 1946).
- NICHOLAS NIKOLOFF has been appointed principal of the Metropolitan Bible Institute, North Bergen, N. J. He is making a study of "The Origin, Nature and Significance of the Bogomilian Movement."
- F. A. NORWOOD has been appointed Assistant Professor of History in Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio.
- PAUL C. NYHOLM is now professor of church history in Trinity Theological Seminary, Blair, Nebraska.
- RAY C. PETRY of Duke University will be on sabbatical leave during the spring semester of 1947. He has received grants from Duke Research Council and Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching to carry on a special program of work during this period.
- RICHARD D. PIERCE of the Andover-Newton Theological School has received his doctorate from Boston University.
- LARS P. QUALBEN'S *History of the Christian Church* has gone into its eighth printing.
- W. GORDON ROSS has been appointed chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Religion in Berea College, Berea, Kentucky.
- HENRY M. SHIRES has received the Doctor of Theology degree from Pacific School of Religion, and is a contributor to *Christianity and the Contemporary Scene*, edited by Miller & Shires.
- ALEXANDER STACEY has been appointed Associate professor and head of the Department of Philosophy, Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas.
- JOHN JOSEPH STOUT has a volume published by Harpers: *Jacob Boehme's Way to Christ in a New Translation*.
- WILLIAM WARREN SWEET is teaching at McCormick Theological Seminary, Garrett Biblical Institute, and Northwestern University. He has received a grant from the Henry E. Huntington Library to carry on a research project there during the spring of 1947.
- DAVID E. SWIFT has been appointed assistant professor in Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.
- WILLIAM TOTH has been appointed professor of History in Franklin and Marshall College.
- WILLIAM C. WALZER of Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn., has received a grant from the Carnegie Foundation Research Program for Southern Colleges for the compilation of a guide to source materials on the history of southern Methodism.
- CHARLES F. WHISTON has been appointed associate professor of moral theology in the Church Divinity School of the Pacific. He is the editor of *Christian Perfection*, published by Harpers (January, 1947).
- CHARLES J. WOODBRIDGE is the author of *Standing on the Promises—Essays on the Book of Acts*.
- DEMETRIUS B. ZEMA is the Rector, Jesuit House of Studies, Auriesville, N. Y. He recently delivered a lecture on "St. Augustine's *City of God*" before the School of Adult Education, Montclair, N. J.
- Notices for this department, announcing publication of books and professional articles, and changes of rank and position of members of the Society should be sent to Winthrop S. Hudson, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

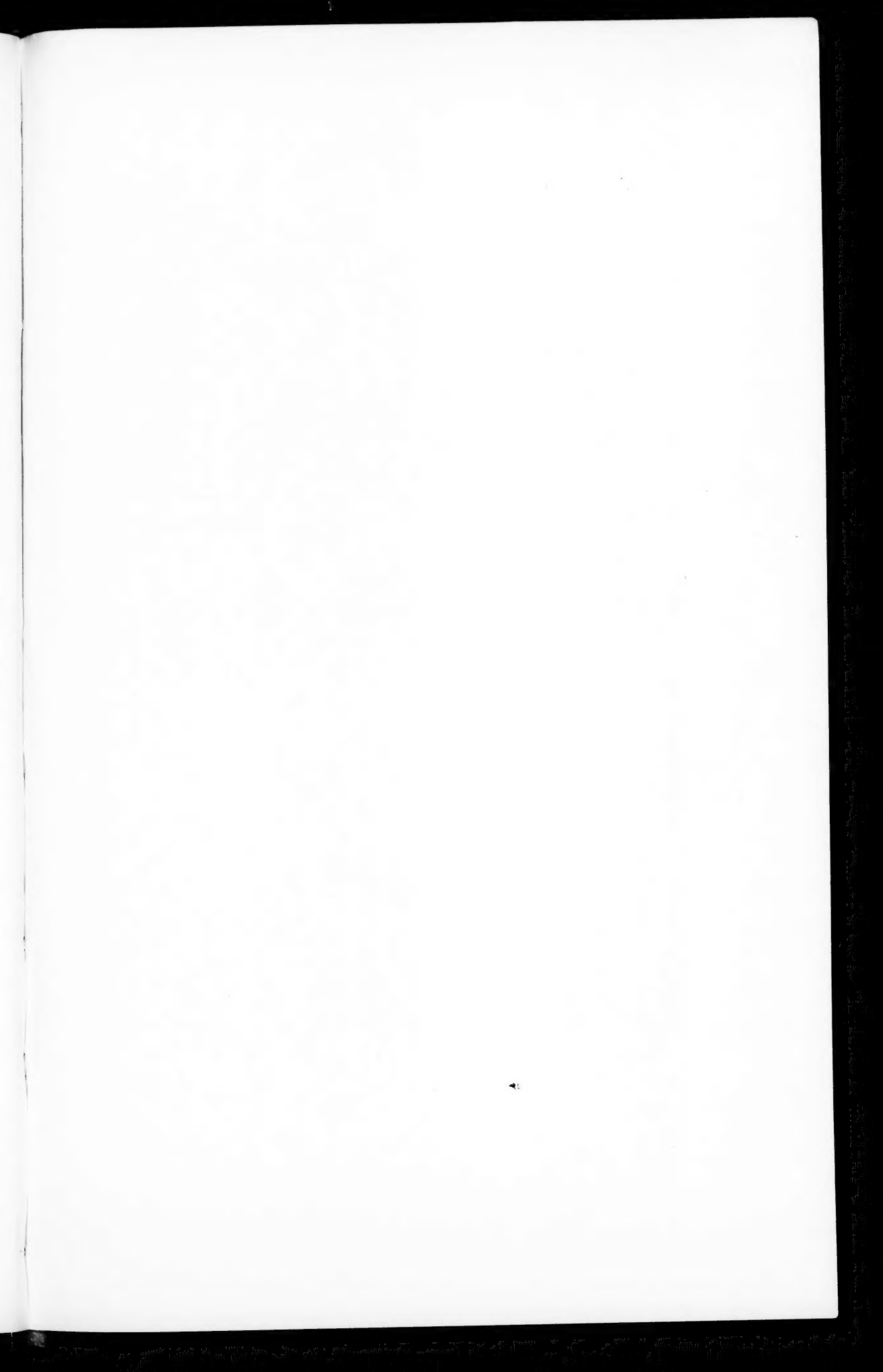
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